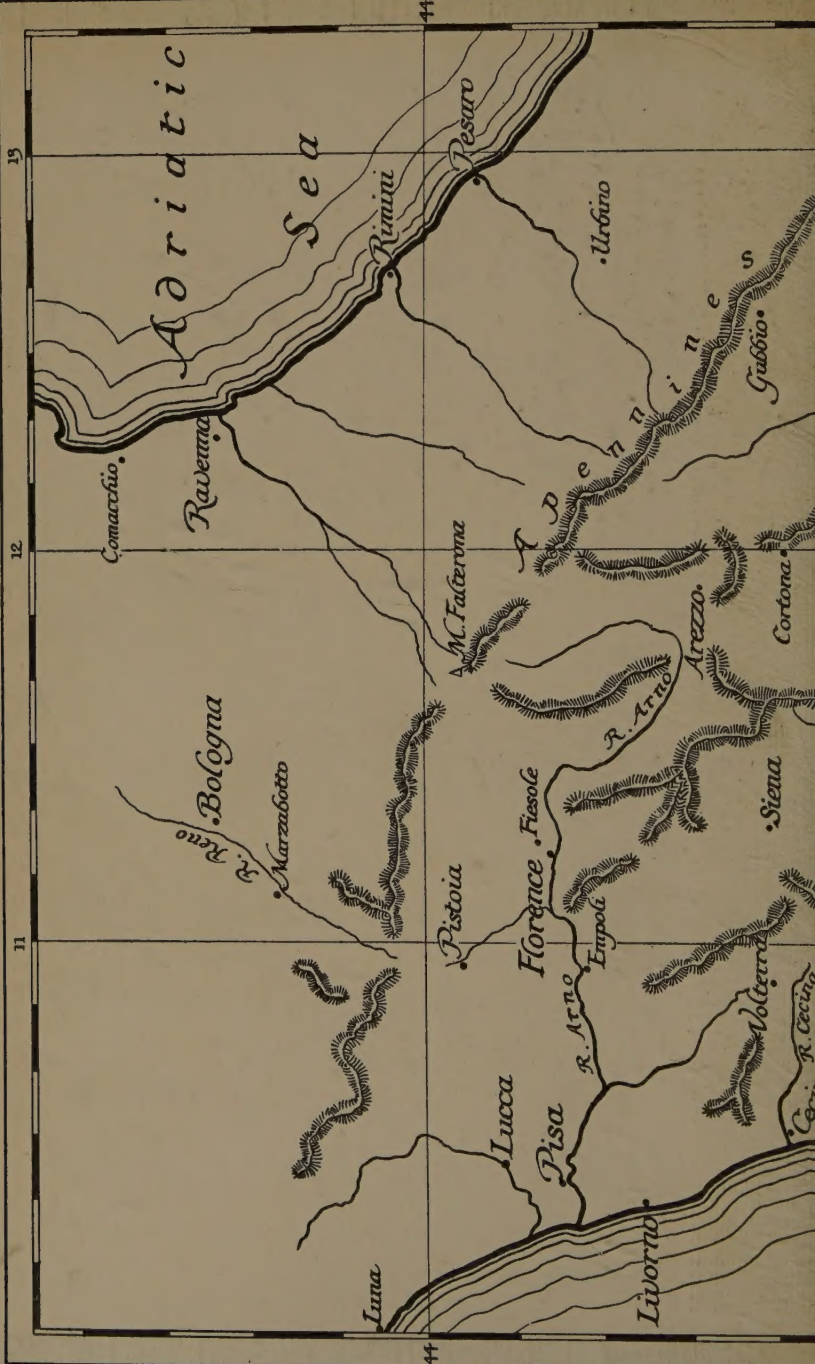




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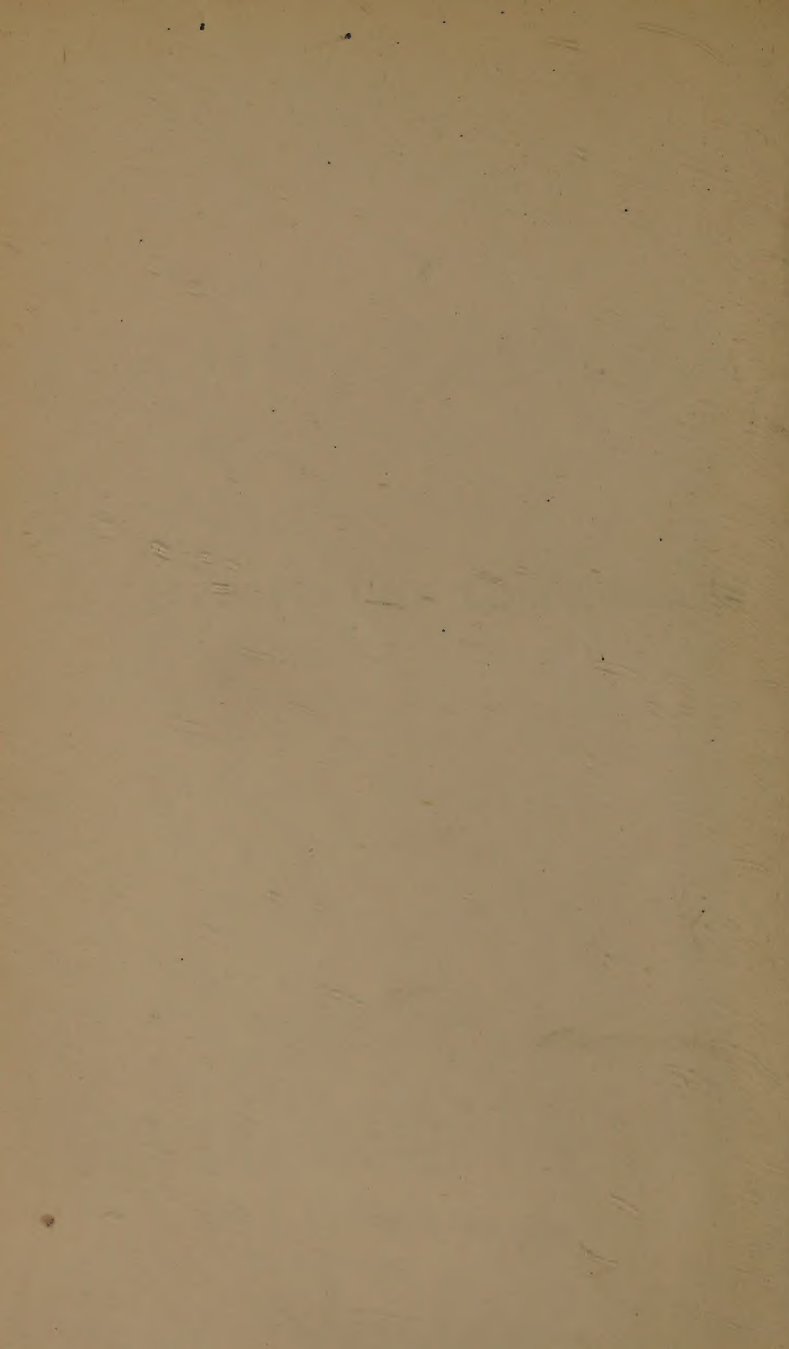


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VELIA

FROM THE FRESCO IN THE TOMBA DELL' ORCO, TARQUINIA

(See p. 145)

ETRURIA PAST AND PRESENT

BY
M. A. JOHNSTONE

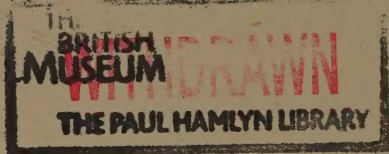
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THE GRACIOUS UNIVERSITY
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ETRUSCAN GATE OF PERUGIA

PREFACE

THE Emperor Claudius was the first research scholar in Etruscology, and the modern worker may justifiably feel envious of his opportunities of studying the monuments of the ancient people, and of acquainting himself with their language and customs, which still lingered in the land, cherished even by the Romans themselves. Claudius did his duty as a historian in producing twenty volumes of historical records—all unfortunately lost. Until the Middle Ages there emerges no definite information about Etruscan matters, but we can imagine the depredations of Romans and foreigners amongst the subterranean treasure-chambers, as well as the destruction of Etruscan masonry to supply building material. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, certain tombs must have been explored, and the great bronze statues were discovered. During the years 1616-1619, a Scot, Sir Thomas Dempster, whilst Professor of Law at Pisa, wrote a treatise on Etruria ; this was published after his death in 1723-4, with additions and illustrations by Filippo Buonarroti. In 1699, we hear of the first discovery of painted tombs at Tarquinia. Throughout the whole of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries research was carried on, at first in most irregular and wasteful style, subject to the whims and greed of landowners and foreign collectors, in more recent years under expert supervision and

government regulations. Every branch of the subject became in turn matter for treatises by eminent scholars not only of Italy but of several other countries. Almost every year of the nineteenth century was marked by one or more important discoveries of Etruscan remains. In 1842-7, the English consul, George Dennis, explored many Etruscan sites, and in 1848 there was published his book, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*.

During the present century there has been rapid growth in enthusiasm, culminating in the National Congress held at Florence in 1926, and the International Congress of 1928, at which thirty-three States were represented. Amongst the results of these meetings we see an increase in co-operation, the systematizing of effort, and the emphasis placed on scientific method. The work planned by the various Committees is now proceeding steadily.

English readers have not too much information available on the subject of Etruria and its people, and the simple account of them set out in the following pages may be helpful to an understanding of their place in Italian history. Possibly it may suggest to some of those who travel in search of the wonders of Italy still another set of interests.

I must make grateful acknowledgement of the help which I have received from many quarters. I am greatly indebted to Professor Anderson of Manchester University, to my friends Miss Mitchell, Miss Lawrence, and Miss Fennelly, and, very particularly, to my publishers for their patient guidance. Many friends in

Italy, in Museums and in remote villages, have made my paths smooth.

Above all, I offer my gratitude to the University for Foreigners at Perugia, for its inspiring fervour and its generous gifts of culture, and, in especial, to Professor Ducati and Professor Buonamici to whom I owe my enthusiasm for, and my training in, Etruscology.

M. A. JOHNSTONE

May, 1930

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ETRURIA PAST AND PRESENT

CHAPTER I

THE CITIES OF THE ETRUSCANS

A CITY on a hill : such cities we may see all over Italy ; not on the gentle slopes, but on the wind-tormented crests. They cannot be hid.

From Tivoli to Rome we may travel in the violet dusk of a waning winter day ; behind us rise the Sabine mountains, a dark and sombre bar ; in front, from the sea-like level of the Campagna break out craggy cones of rock which loom ever darker as the light drains out of the sky ; then, in one flashing second, each town on its height crowns itself with a circlet of fiery gems. Or we wake up one autumn morning in Perugia, and look down from that old fortress-city on the Umbrian plain a thousand feet below us—a wavering lake of grey vapours, distracting in their ceaseless shift and sweep and swirl. Thrust through the mists like rocky islets, the little hills look towards the coming light, every one with its capping of hamlet or town. Nothing is there in Italian landscape more arresting than these high-placed dwellings, nothing more strange to English eyes. The people who chose these lofty spots for their homes were planning for defence against tribal enemies, and for escape from the equally threatening malaria of the lowlands. Many of the towns are of remote

antiquity, were centuries old when the Christian era dawned—Cortona, for example, Todi, Perugia, Volterra.

Other Italian summits, once vibrant with city life, are now tenantless. From the Rome which to-day is again the full, strong heart of an empire we may go out to visit that little plateau on which stood Etruscan Veii, so powerful in the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ that for more than one generation it was doubtful whether it would be Rome or Veii which would survive in their long duel. Veii fell, and Rome made sure that she should not rise again. The place which she, one of the proudest, most warlike cities of Etruria, covered with dwellings, sanctified with temples, fortified with battlements, is now a waste of utter emptiness.

Always the ancient people of these high-perched cities founded a second city, for their dead, and this they hollowed out within the rock mass, or dug on the mounds at a distance from the abodes of the living. Into some of these subterranean houses the people of to-day have made an entry and have found them eloquent as libraries, museums, picture-galleries, revealing to an astonished world the story of a nation rich, ingenious, light-hearted, which once ruled the wide land around but which has vanished completely in shadowy decay. It was a nation whose very origin is still a matter of controversy, whose language and whose literature (if it had any literature) have left scarce a clue to their character.

Etruscology, the study of the secrets of these Etruscan people, has had a long history. Under the date 1616-1619 Pericle Ducati places the following: 'The Scottish Baron, Thomas Dempster, Professor of Law at Pisa, composes the work *De Etruria regali libri septem*, thus initiating the study of the Etruscan

people.’¹ At the present time highly systematized research in this subject is deemed worthy of the devotion of eminent workers in many countries—Italy, England, Germany, France, and others. The pages of this book aim at being a very unpretentious and uncritical account of some of the discoveries which these scholars have made and of the skilful correlations and deductions which they have formulated.

In central Italy the natural features mark off a block of country as a self-contained unit, the boundaries of which are the Apennines, the Tiber, and the Tyrrhenian Sea. This geographical entity corresponded almost exactly with the comparatively permanent domain of the Etruscans during their years of stability, up to the end of the sixth century B.C. Beyond these limits their power extended temporarily in various directions at different times, but the twelve city-states which constituted the Etruscan League or Confederation lay within this circumscribed area.

Our study of things Etruscan may very well take the cities as a starting-point, visiting, or imagining that we are visiting, first of all one which has plenty to show us, is convenient of access, and is a good centre from which to make excursions to other places of similar interest. I can think of no place which fulfils these and other less important conditions as well as does Perugia, the capital of Umbria.

Modern Perugia, with its fabric of the Middle Ages, stands exactly where stood Etruscan and Roman *Perusia*, that is to say, it occupies every foot of the hill-top, 1,700 feet above sea-level, which dominates so grandly the Umbrian plain of the Tiber. The summit is almost level now, but originally there were two

¹ *Etruria Antica*, Vol. II, p. 145.

distinct eminences (a feature much favoured by the Etruscans), the hollow between which has been partially filled in and forms the space now used for the open-air market. Perugia figured in great events in Etruscan history. Both Gaul and Roman fought on her plains and broke through her defences. On that occasion, in 310 B.C., when the Roman general Q. Fabius Rullianus covered himself with glory by leading his army through the Ciminian Forest he finished his first campaign by defeating the Etruscan forces under the very heights of Perugia. For nearly three centuries after this the town maintained its Etruscan character and even grew in importance. During this time Tarquinia and Caere, two old cities of the highest rank, were falling into ruins, other State capitals were decadent or were becoming depopulated owing to malaria; more and more anxiously the remnants of the perishing nation looked for leadership to the strong and vigorous Umbrian city.

Of her final destruction many details are known: her spirit matched that of old Veii. In one of Rome's civil wars Perugia gave sanctuary to L. Antonius, brother of Mark Antony, when he was pursued by Octavian. For a whole winter, 41-40 B.C., the town endured the increasing agonies of starvation, and at last had to surrender. Her treatment was bitterly cruel, and the shame of it was so unbearable to one Perugian that he set the torch to his home, set the sword to his breast, and made of the blazing city his funeral pyre. Later, the Emperor ordered the place to be rebuilt, allowed Etruscans to re-settle in it, and gave it a new name, *Augusta Perugia*.

Let the student, meditating over the Etruscan past, walk down Perugia's oldest street, the Via Vecchia.



PORTA AUGUSTA, PERUGIA
(See p. 5)



TUMULUS AT CERVETERI
(See p. 42)

1110-10
1110-10
1110-10



At the foot of it he comes face to face with a stupendous wall, fifty feet high, built of grand masonry, and he walks out through a noble round-arched gateway. Looking at the outer face of this arch he reads the sign of the Roman's triumph—the new name—for this is the *Porta Augusta*. This arch and the walls connected with it are memorials, seemingly safe to endure for all time, of the laws governing the founding of Etruscan cities. All round the plateau, at the very edge of its precipices, the walls were reared, and at various places there still stand well-preserved portions of them, as well as fragments of two more gates. As in Perugia, so elsewhere : every colony was girt with fortifications. These were at first mounds of earth, outside which ran the trench whence the earth had been taken. It is believed that it was not until the sixth to fifth centuries B.C. that these earthen ramparts were replaced by the walls of superb stonework, fragments of which are to be found on nearly all the main Etruscan sites. Further, those sites were chosen which possessed natural defences of precipitous slopes and commanding isolation. Such precautions speak of enemies, and enemies we shall see the builders had in plenty—dispossessed natives, Romans, Gauls. Without entering here upon the still debatable question of who these colonists were, it may be briefly stated that they were probably strangers in the land which was to become Etruria, that they probably came in successive swarms by way of the western sea-board, and in the course of generations penetrated eastward and northward, consolidating their conquests by their settlements. Perugia was one of the later foundations and the capital of one of the twelve States of the Confederacy ; the broad levels of the surrounding country, through

which the Tiber meanders, would be hers, and she certainly would make them at least as fruitful as the Italian does to-day. There is some evidence that Perugia was in existence in the sixth century, whilst experts consider that her walls and the Etruscan part of the Porta Augusta date from the third century B.C.

A word may be said about the way the Etruscans built their walls. Three types of masonry are recognizable amongst the various ruins. At Perugia the stones used are squared into rectangular blocks and are arranged in regular courses. Cement is never employed here or elsewhere in the setting of the stones ; the fitting together of their adjacent surfaces is wonderfully perfect. In the second manner of building the stones are roughly polygonal and vary greatly in size, forming the 'cyclopean' masonry, though there is no reason for regarding this character as a connecting link with the Greek East or as a sign of the remote antiquity of the structure. The employment of one or other of the two methods of building was probably dictated to some extent by the nature of the stone which was available. Polygonal walls may be seen in the ruins at Norba, which are no earlier than late sixth century, whilst at Cosa the lower courses of the walls are polygonal and some of the upper are rectangular. At Populonia there is an instance of the third mode of construction, in which the blocks are rectangular but unequal in height, and the courses are therefore irregular.

The Perugian gate possesses a true, rounded arch, and is one of many examples which prove that the Etruscans had mastered thoroughly this architectural form ; we may be pretty sure that this was one of their accomplishments which was included in their

gifts to Rome. The gateway is impressive, thirty feet high, built of heavy masses of travertine and flanked by projecting towers of the same age. Above the round Etruscan part runs a frieze in which Ionic columns and circular shields alternate, and above this again springs a second, walled-in arch ; all these are probably of the Augustan age. A second gateway, of curious history, is built into the wall of Paul III's fortress on the south side of the town. When Sangallo, the Pope's architect, was clearing the ground for the papal fort he did a little towards saving the ancient gate, removing it piecemeal and setting it in its present strange position on his own huge wall. This arch also is round-headed ; it retains fragments of the heads of men and horses with which it had originally been adorned.

Tracing the boundaries of an Etruscan city was an occasion of solemn ceremonial for which the national deities had prescribed a strict code of rules (p. 88). In the presence of the tribal leaders a furrow was cut along the line to be followed by the walls, the plough being drawn by sacred oxen and care being taken that the ridge of soil was turned towards the area to be enclosed. Wherever it was intended to have a gate the plough was carried across the space : otherwise all passage would have been barred, for the furrow was a way reserved for the inhabitants of the underworld—was, indeed, the equivalent of the *mundus* of an altar (p. 84). Propitiatory offerings of grain were cast into this furrow. In these ceremonies we recognize the prototypes of those practised by Romans in later days. For every city there was ordained a minimum of three gates, although the number was often greater. A temple was built close to each gate, and to each of

the three divinities—*Tinia* (Jupiter), *Uni* (Juno), and *Menrva* (Minerva)—a gate was specially dedicated.

And what have we left of the temples, the palaces, the streets of little houses, which lay snugly within the ramparts? In Perugia, nothing; elsewhere, scarcely anything. If city walls were built for comparative eternity, dwellings were meant but for a brief lifetime. Throughout the whole history of the people the materials mainly used appear to have been wood, terra-cotta, and unburnt bricks. For centuries the temples were not much more substantial. At a time when the Greek was pouring out his adoration in the marble magnificence of the Acropolis, the Etruscan was raising his little shrines of wood and brick and clay. It is only when the foundations of buildings have been laid down in stone that we are able to recognize the ground plan of them. For our notions of what the people's houses looked like we are dependent on the elaborate homes which were made for the dead—both the sepulchres and the receptacles for the bodies or the ashes. How close was the imitation practised in making these will be seen when we come to study the tombs.

It was a law that the dead should be buried outside the city, and this we find illustrated at Perugia, where the general cemetery as well as certain solitary tombs are situated some miles from the walls (p. 73). The municipal museum contains rich material gathered in mainly from local graves. The student who is particularly interested in the language problem will find in Perugia two of the most famous inscriptions; one inscribed on a slab in the museum is the third longest which is known; the other, cut on the vaulting of the

tomb of San Manno, has had a very feasible translation worked out for it.

Regarded in all its aspects, Perugia, with its well-authenticated history, its typical walls, its tombs, its inscriptions, and the rich collection of objects in its museum, may be thoroughly recommended for the initiation of the student of Etruscology. Bonazzi, a nineteenth-century historian, maintains that the Etruscan mantle still hangs round it: he calls it '*la città etrusca per eccellenza*'. He declares that Perugian speech has an intonation peculiar to itself, differing even from that of the towns within a few miles of it, and he hazards the guess that the city speaks its Italian with an Etruscan accent.

In 1926 the Italian Government paid a well-merited compliment to Perugia, which is distinguished both in the sphere of business and that of culture, in choosing it to be the seat of their unique conception of a university, the Royal Italian University for Foreigners. Once established, the university showed the wisdom of its governors in placing on its programme of studies, as a subject of pre-eminent importance, Etruscology. Herein is an additional inducement to the student who can manage it to make Perugia a starting-point.

Using Perugia as a centre it is quite possible to get a general idea of the Etruscan antiquities at three important places—Orvieto, Cortona, and Chiusi. Starting early, travelling by motor, and returning late, one can see a good deal by devoting one day to each of them.

Orvieto (Etruscan, *Velsu* or *Vezna*) and its lofty platform seem one and inseparable, equally disdainful of the wide valleys upon which they look down. A cone-like mass of ruddy volcanic rock, rising in the sharpest of slopes, its apex cut away, its level top

ringed round with sheer precipices—that is the base which the Etruscan adventurers chose for a colony. Medieval and modern walls carry the precipices still higher ; into the sun-drenched sky is upthrust a glorious medley of palace towers and cathedral spires ; we could conceive of no city looking more proudly impregnable. There is little doubt but that Orvieto is rightly identified with ancient Volsinii, a city which fell into the hands of the Romans in 265 B.C., and which was destroyed by them as being too full of menace for their comfort. The inhabitants who were left alive were allowed to make a new settlement on the shores of Lake Bolsena, hence the Latin writers speak of *Volsinii veteres* and *Volsinii novi*. No traces of Etruscan city walls have been found at Orvieto, but the plan of a tripartite temple has been uncovered. The local museum contains important material, and there are two burial grounds which will be referred to later (pp. 40, 61). One is the *Crocifisso del Tufo*, streets of tombs.

Cortona watches like a vigilant master over the wide plain lying to the west of Lake Trasimene. Looked at from the railway at the foot of the hill, the town seems to cling like a cluster of nests round the summit. The ascent is very steep. Having accomplished it the visitor finds himself in a walled city—if it is market day thronged and lively, afterwards sinking back into old-world lethargy as if here somewhiles time lay down and slumbered.

The modern town occupies very nearly the same space as did the Etruscan ; great lengths of the Etruscan wall exist in many places, often incorporated with the medieval fortifications. At the highest point, behind the fortress, is an extraordinary bit of old wall ; it is about a hundred and twenty feet long and twenty-



ORVIETO

five feet high, and some of its stones measure twelve feet by twelve feet by five feet in height. The surface of the ground is very uneven, and walls and streets wander up and down the heights and hollows. Near Cortona have been found many tombs, both within the rock of the slopes and on the plain below; the most famous is that known as the Tomb of Pythagoras. The little city museum contains some interesting exhibits, and amongst them is one treasure of surpassing beauty and historical value—a bronze lamp, which is often referred to as the choicest example we possess of the minor Etruscan bronzes (p. 99).

But the place where one wants to linger in Cortona is the terrace in front of the church of Santa Margherita, on the very pinnacle of the mountain. What stood on that spot at the time when lowly Etruscan homes covered the hill-side below it? Did the temple and altar of the celestial trinity crown the height, their terra-cottas flushing to warm beauty with the light of every dawn? Did all Cortona's people crowd up here when enemies appeared on the plains below?

What a superb panorama of peaceful industry lies unrolled below us to-day, and what savage drama was enacted down there before Etruscan eyes more than 2,000 years ago! The vast expanse of country is now cultivated to perfection, excellent evidence that in its agriculture rests the hope of prosperity for Italy. Vineyards, olive groves, and cornfields not only cover every yard of level land but climb the slopes to the crest of the surrounding hills. On the left gleams part of the silver shield of Lake Trasimene; in front, in the far distance, rise the filmy mountains. We know that under Etruscan tillage this land was equally bountiful, and we know also that one springtime its cultivators

saw carnage and devastation sweep over it. Hannibal and his Africans, his elephants, and his Gallic allies, watched by terrified eyes from the peak of Cortona, marched in their thousands towards the shores of the lake. The Roman army was posted amongst the neighbouring heights. Cunningly Hannibal lured the legions into a trap between lake and mountains—where now stands Passignano, a spot not visible from Cortona—and there in the treacherous morning mists a terrible battle raged for three hours. The Etruscans of Cortona and the Etruscans of Perugia must have been struck with the sudden fear that the infernal gods as well as mortal men had engaged in conflict, for their mountains trembled and their houses rocked in an awful earthquake which, history says, passed unnoticed by the fighting armies. History says too that the spectators, Umbrian and Etruscan, assembled on the heights overlooking the lake were as numerous as the combatants below. All the world knows the ending of this battle of Trasimene in 217 B.C.—15,000 Roman dead, 15,000 prisoners, 5,000 who made their escape, many of which fugitives found an asylum in Perugia. What would have been the sensations in Etruscan, Roman, or Carthaginian minds if over their Trasimene had appeared our hydroplane, the gigantic bird which glides down so softly to meet and clasp its shadow in the waters?

Chiusi will be visited chiefly for its painted tombs, which will be discussed in Chapter IV. There are housed in its museum many local finds of unique character; they will be noticed incidentally in succeeding pages. Of the old city little can be ascertained.

The next city which I will mention is Veii, nine miles from Rome, reached easily by motor. An approach

which gives one a keen idea of the loneliness of the Campagna may be made by walking across the pastures from the hamlet of La Storta, which has a railway connexion with the Trastevere station in Rome.

I wish I could share with the reader the impression made upon me by my first sight of Veii, or rather of the place where Veii had been. I stood on Isola Farnese, a height which commands a view right over the site of the vanished city. The feeling that struck most deeply on one's consciousness was that of *emptiness*; something had been and was not; it was as if an ocean liner had gone down and the seas had closed over her. But the ghosts were there; one knew that every spirit which had ever lived in that city haunted it still, was crowding its neighbours in a restless throng. I looked again, and my mind saw fifth-century Veii, the city in its proud prime. Seven miles in circumference she was; walls, strengthened by forts and pierced by gates, capped the vertical rock walls of the wedge of highland on which she stood; streets crossed the city from gate to gate in regular order. Nobles dined in their palace gardens and work-folk sat outside their simple homes. Many were the temples and brilliant was their colouring, handsome their embellishment, for Veii had a school of sculptors whose genius won praise even in Greece, although instead of precious marble they wrought in humble clay. Down in the valley, placed outside a city gate, as often was the custom, I saw one temple dedicated to the god Apollo, and within its precincts a group of statues of bright-tinted terra-cotta, most wonderful amongst them that of the god himself. In the meadows near the streams were flocks and herds, and I knew that away out on the Campagna men were busy with their crops. I

thought of gala days when merriment filled the circus, and of days of excitement when men were marching out to war. I saw a procession laden with many home-like things pacing through the northern gate, and I heard the death-chants and the shrill wail of the pipes ; I knew they were taking one from his home in the sunshine to a home prepared for him in the dark bosom of the hill across the valley.

In 500 B.C. Veii was princely, far more princely than Rome ; she was ready then and for a century after to measure lances with Rome. She was talked of throughout the Mediterranean world because of her art, her wealth, and her prowess. Rome borrowed from her architects and sculptors to construct and beautify her temples. Only nine miles of Campagna lay between the two cities, and for many a year that tract was a mere marching-ground for their armies. Romans and Veientes were fighting each other at intervals throughout the whole of the fifth century ; the historians speak of fourteen wars. The last broke out in 405 B.C., when Rome began a siege of Veii which lasted ten years. Whatever may be the truth concerning the general decadence of Etruria at this period there can be no doubt of the fibre of the Veientes : they were stout men till their end.

Much detail—half myth, half historical fact—concerning this protracted struggle has reached us by way of Livy and other Roman writers. Looking over the area once covered with buildings we can understand how it was possible for determined men to hold out as long as they did. The small, roughly triangular table-land runs out to a point where meet the two steep-sided valleys which bound it, and at that point it is connected with a tiny, nearly isolated height by means of

a 'neck' of slightly lower elevation. The Etruscans were very fond of this double-headed kind of position, as we may call it. Possibly the original settlement was confined to the smaller hill ; possibly the larger served for a long time as a grazing ground for the animals ; certainly the small, lofty eminence became the fortress, or *Arx*, and at Veii it is now known as the Piazza d'Armi. It is with the *Arx* that legend ends the tale of Veii's downfall. Camillus was the leader of the Roman forces. In 396 B.C., despairing of taking the city by assault, he tried stratagem. The soft, tufaceous rock of the *Arx* was not difficult to break into, and Camillus bored through it, upwards, a tunnel which had its upper end immediately underneath the temple of Juno. The gods (the Roman gods) arranged the time-table so that the Romans—Camillus one of the foremost—should make their stealthy arrival under the temple floor at the exact moment when propitiatory sacrifices were being offered to the goddess. The *haruspex* was reading the omens conveyed by the liver of the slain beast, and his voice could be heard announcing that victory would be given to him who should complete the sacrifice to Juno. Camillus was quick. He burst into the temple, seized the entrails, and made the offering. That heralded the end : the invaders poured in ; consternation, terror, convulsed the city, and its conquest was easy. So the historians say. In whatever way it was carried out, it is certain that the annihilation of Veii was absolute. Roman policy towards this persistent foe was grim and pitiless. Camillus did not burn the place, for it was worth keeping for Rome's enjoyment, but the people were slain or reduced to Roman slavery, and the old, cherished image of Juno was carried off to Rome. There were,

indeed, prolonged debates as to whether Rome should be transferred to Veii, but this was not attempted. For long years the empty homes and the silent streets were left to decay. Then the Emperor Augustus decided to bring life to the place again and a small Roman colony was established within the broken walls. For some reason or another it did not succeed ; its gradual dissolution is somewhat of a mystery. Perhaps the population was killed off by the pestilential malaria which was bred in the low-lying lands around, no longer held in check by the efficient cultivation of the Etruscans.

In the history of Europe the fall of Veii demands a place as one of the most momentous of its crises. Rome, youthful, unresting, driven onward by the passion for conquest or self-preservation, was bound to come into frequent conflict with her Etruscan neighbours, whose nearest colony at this time was Veii, the most southerly of the capitals. Veii acted in fact as a rampart for the other States of the League, and if the Confederacy had not been smitten with dire apathy and devoid of political foresight it would have seen how imperative it was for every State to spring to the aid of the beleaguered border city. But very little aid for her was forthcoming, and the penalty was paid by Etruria when Rome, by years of dogged hammering, split off State after State from the Union.

Ducati makes this clear : ¹ ' The flight of the Roman eagle to the right bank of the Tiber heralded the downfall of Etruria, which gave the first impulse to the Roman dominion over the whole peninsula.'

When we realize the difference between the Roman character and the Etruscan we can see how incalculable would have been the effect on the history of southern and western Europe if Veii had conquered Rome.

¹ *Etruria Antica*, Part II, p. 23.

CHAPTER II

THE CITIES OF THE ETRUSCANS (*continued*)

THE visitor to Florence will have easy access to two places where characteristic Etruscan walls may be seen, namely, Fiesole and Volterra. A tramcar from the Duomo will take him up to Fiesole, and a little inquiry there will show the way to the ruins, which include a fair extent of well-finished, perfectly regular wall. The cementless joints of this masonry fit with the utmost precision and the outer surface is carefully trimmed.

Volterra (Etruscan, *Velathri*), about thirty miles from Florence, is visited most conveniently by motor. Its situation is overwhelmingly majestic ; its rock pedestal, 2,000 feet high, resembles a gigantic fortress. Great lengths of its old walls are still standing ; they show the irregular way in which the courses were often arranged. One of the gates, the well-known Porta dell' Arco, is in a state of good preservation. It bears a strong resemblance to the Porta Augusta at Perugia in being double, and in having a rounded arch of regularly disposed stones. The space between the outer and inner arches forms a chamber about thirty feet deep ; the groove in which the portcullis worked is still visible. Velathri must have been one of the very wealthy and powerful Etruscan towns, and we may reasonably conclude that her territory was extensive and included a goodly portion of sea-coast enlivened by busy ports. Some people may be interested to think of the city as the home of the Caecinae, friends of Cicero.

The cities described in the preceding pages were situated on lofty heights remote from the sea, and probably were not amongst the earliest settlements. Quite close to the shore of the Tyrrhenian Sea there are to be found eminences also isolated, but less imposing, which have been identified with other Etruscan settlements. Evidence of coastal changes suggests that some of these cities are now farther from the sea than they were in Etruscan times. It is almost certain that these were the regions in which the first colonies of the Tyrrheni were established. The haunts once thronged are now melancholy wastes ; poor villages are the best they support, and generally the ploughman is in possession of the landscape ; only by what we find in the hundreds of their tombs do we learn what manner of life flourished in the streets buried within these mounds.

Vulci, which from the seventh to the fifth century B.C. was populous and wealthy, is now a waste, difficult of access to the traveller. Its vast necropolis was ruthlessly exploited in the middle of last century, and yielded wonderful jewellery and painted vases. The tombs were carelessly re-closed and the site was long neglected. Systematic excavation was begun again in 1927 and important results (e.g. graves with human remains and tomb furnishings in undisturbed condition) have been obtained.

Cosa (later, Ansedonia) had a magnificent stand on a promontory near Orbetello. It may have been the seaport of Vulci, and very likely it played a part in the great engineering feat of providing Lake Burano with an emissary. The remains of its walls are noteworthy, exhibiting polygonal masonry below and parallel masonry above ; they had been reinforced



FIG. I. PLAN OF CAERE

- Modern roads.
- Traces of ancient roads.
- ooo Tumuli.
- ... Graves.
- A. Entrance to main street of necropolis.
- B. Ancient way from city to necropolis.
- C. Regolini—Galassi tumulus.

with no fewer than fourteen towers. In the opinion of some experts, a great part of the walling we see here is of Roman construction.

Cerveteri of to-day was Caere of the Romans and had also a Greek-sounding name, Agylla, which belonged to it at a very early but ill-defined period in its history. Palo, about thirty miles from Rome on the Rome-Pisa line, is the railway station which serves Cerveteri; an autobus meeting the main trains connects the station by the sea with the town on the hill. The bus deposits its passengers in the small piazza of what is a very modest community, but one which can by no means be spoken of as the 'miserable village' of Dennis's day. It is still small and quiet, but its streets are clean, its population is growing, and its progress and aspirations are bravely and worthily expressed in a spacious new school building. The modern Caerite is also proud of another recent improvement—the provision of an excellent water-supply; the old source used by the Etruscans has been brought back into use, and the water flows in blessed abundance from the 'Etruscan Fountain.' This is an interesting connexion, because traditional accounts of the earliest, pre-Etruscan settlements ascribe the choice of this site to the presence of a spring of water in an otherwise arid district. The people of the town are civil and kindly, evidently very industrious. Amongst the Mediterranean people of Etruria's prime Caere was praised for her abstention from piracy; some people who have visited her modern representative have found her folk quick indeed to perform friendly services, decided in their refusal to accept anything in return.

Caere was one of those cities which might easily have rivalled Rome had its people been of sterner stuff. Its

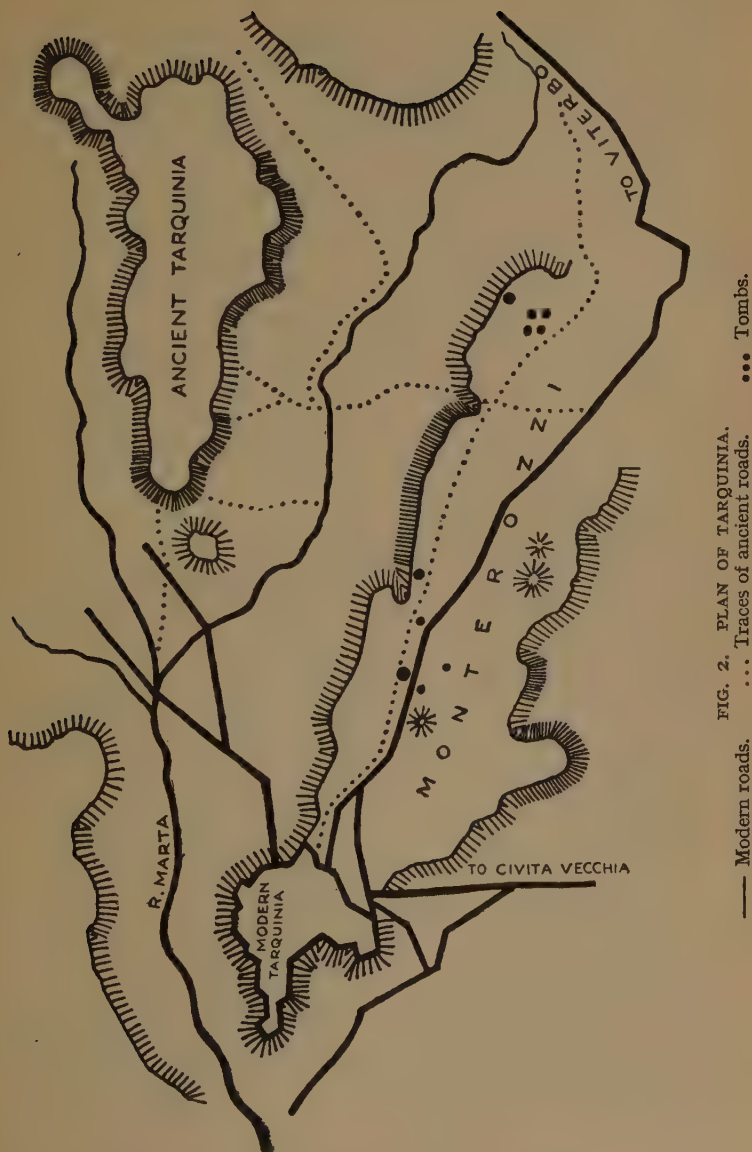


FIG. 2. PLAN OF TARQUINIA.

low, cliff-bordered plateau is now bare of every architectural feature, a wide expanse of vineyards and olive woods. The sites of seven of its temples have been discovered ; the walls, four to five miles of them, with their eight gateways, are all gone. Caere was one of the four oldest Etruscan capitals, and must have been one of the most notable ; Pyrgi (modern Santa Severa), on the near-by coast, was very likely its port. Back and forth from the Eastern Mediterranean flowed its trade ; alien merchants opened shops in its streets ; and so charmed were the patricians of Caere with the painted vases, the carved ivories, the chased silver bowls, and the golden jewellery, that Ionian and Attic artists and artisans were warmly welcomed as residents, till in the sixth and fifth centuries Caere had its ' foreign quarter '. And soon the quick-witted Caerite, clever imitator, was also creating works of art of his own—in some branches, such as that of the goldsmith, superior to the work of his teachers. Caere had a fair hinterland ; for wide miles around the skill brought from the East was applied to the draining and cultivation of the land, with a success indicated by the great amount of the contribution of corn and other food-stuffs sent by Caere to Rome in the Second Punic war. Caere managed for long periods to keep on friendly terms with Rome, and earned much gratitude by giving honourable refuge to the Vestal Virgins when Rome was invaded by the Gauls in 390 B.C.

That we know so much about this proud city is due to the fact that its people made such ample and peculiar provision for their dead, constructed a second city really, and one which proved more enduring than the first. Of this vast and amazing necropolis we will gain some idea in Chapter III.

Tarquinia (Latin, *Tarquinius*) has a place specially its own, for it was the metropolis of Etruria. It was another of the coast centres, situated within what is now the Tuscan Maremma, about sixty miles from Rome. The spot chosen for settlement was crossed by two parallel ridges bordering a shallow valley; one height was crowned with the royal city; the other was honeycombed with the last homes of all the generations of her citizens. On one end of the latter elevation medieval Italians built the town of Corneto, and there in a fifteenth-century palace are now on view many objects found in the tombs; this town, by the way, is now known as Tarquinia.

The traveller who approaches the district from the east, by way of the Viterbo road, obtains as he draws near a comprehensive view of the two long hills and then proceeds for about two miles towards modern Tarquinia along the necropolis ridge, passing on the way the modernized entrances to several of the tombs as well as innumerable mounds which mark the places of flattened tumuli. Having arrived within the town he should climb to the small terrace in which terminates the principal street, at the very top of the height. There he will find himself overlooking a wide, shallow, green basin; on the far side rises the empty platform once occupied by the capital of Etruria. Long, soft slopes mount upwards, to end at the foot of a ring of sheer lofty cliffs—nature's fortification for the plateau which it encircles. Impressive, arresting in its simple dignity this hill would be, even if we knew naught of its history. But we cannot help investing it with the garments of its past; we cannot but cover it with palaces, temples, and homely dwellings, gird it with walls, and furnish it with gates and towers. In its

utter nakedness it yet retains its prestige. This is no fortress, defiant or aggressive, no Cortona or Perugia ; wide and spacious in its lofty place, it looks abroad with the dignified assurance befitting the royal city of the land. That majestic hill was a site most worthy for the gracious capital of a great nation. Now it faces the world with serene resignation to the fate that has befallen it—supreme in its reticence.

Down in the valley lies the sheltered land which helped to feed the city, no doubt forced by Etruscan skill to yield its uttermost ; not too promising would it be originally, for in some spots swamps are still ready to form and in others the soil is scant and stony. Tarquinia of to-day depends on it again, and her men daily go down the steep road to their cultivation plots. Grassland stretches far up the hills, and is sprinkled with herds of white cattle. Woods are all but lacking ; the orchard ground is laid out in rectangular areas. The brightest green is spread over the damp patches where hemp is luxuriating. In the month of August the haystacks cluster round the farm-houses, and close to these also burn fervent masses of ruddy orange, the ripening cobs of maize—*gran turco*—next winter's food. The whole forms a peaceful scene in a rather languorous land. Two roads, rich in contrast, cross the valley. One runs out to the westward, a grey, well-trodden ribbon ; wagons travel thereon, swinging along with the heavy rhythm and the muffled sounds characteristic of the soft feet of great oxen moving over dust-deep ground. Looking towards the east we see the line of cliff on which we stand curving towards old Tarquinia, and over there could once be seen another roadway, well made and much frequented, barely traceable now. This was the Tarquinian Sacred Way, the path by

which the funeral train crossed from the city to the city's burial ground.

No more dramatic contrast between destruction and preservation could be found in history than meets us here. Tarquinia of the living might, to all appearance, have been swept bodily into the sea, nothing spared but a few blocks of stone. But we may open the doors of Tarquinia of the dead and walk into the midst of their lives. For their dead, the city builded well, and for us, in the building, it has left most graphic pages of social history covering centuries of the country's existence. This is the necropolis which contains far the largest number of painted tombs—that is, tombs having walls covered with scenes drawn mainly from contemporary life. We see there how the Tarquinian dressed and danced and feasted; the luxury of his jewels, elegant furniture, wines, and slaves; his love of the open air; his circus; his hunting dogs and his hunting leopards, the wild boars which he hunted.

The origin of the name Tarquinia, as recounted by legendary history, can be traced to Tarchon (Etruscan, *Tarchna*) who was one of the pioneer princes. On an engraved mirror now in the museum at Florence, Tarchna is shown alongside the *haruspex* examining the liver of an animal in order to ascertain the will of the gods anent the founding of the city.

Ducati regards Tarquinia as the most ancient capital in the Confederacy.

On the north side of the Apennines, outside the boundary of Etruria proper, grew up the Etruscan towns of Felsina (Bologna) and Misa (Marzabotto), between which there was no doubt frequent neighbourly intercourse during their days of prosperity and their days of common danger and distress. Both were

youthful as Etruscan genealogies go, for they date only from the end of the sixth century B.C. Felsina was the capital city of Etruria Circumpadana; unfortunately no architectural remains of it are standing, though the museums of Bologna are wealthy in objects discovered in the vicinity and peculiarly valuable as showing the contrast between the Etruscan civilization and the local Villanovan which it dispossessed (p. 235).

But Marzabotto is a reality. Its streets and the foundation walls of its little homes lie there in front of us; they look at us with the silent, pathetic eyes which haunt those crumbling Highland shielings whose hearths grew cold when their people went away into exile. The grass has grown over the city's broken body, but no later generations have covered her grave with their building. Marzabotto was an outpost city, a sentinel; the traveller from Bologna to Florence may notice, about seventeen miles from Bologna, the small station with the old name, planted on the rising ground where the railway begins to climb the mountain pass, the guarding of which was probably her duty. On visiting the site of the city we find that, as was common, there were two distinct areas within the boundary walls; over the level tract adjoining the River Reno was spread out the residential quarter; higher ground to the north, overlooking this—the hill Misanello—constituted the *arx*, a sanctuary with temples and altars. Where the character of the ground permitted the Etruscan was accustomed to plan his city as a network of streets of varying size which crossed each other at right angles; Marzabotto is the best example we possess of this arrangement. The low plateau on which it stood was defended on two sides by the river—that river which has proved a treacherous ally,

undermining and engulfing more than half of what it should have helped to preserve. The main street (*cardo*) runs due north and south, and is crossed by three principal streets (*decumani*) having an east to west direction.¹ They are all unusually spacious thoroughfares, the carriage-way and each of the side-walks being five metres wide. They had been paved with flat stones, and at intervals a line of stepping-stones connected one raised side-walk with the other, in the same way as at Pompeii. At Marzabotto we can inspect the efficient-looking system of drainage which was common in Etruscan towns. The water from the roofs of the houses was collected into drain-pipes, and a capacious trench which was very likely covered in with stone slabs runs along the side of each street; the water from all these found its way into main sewers which carried it to the river. In many ruined Etruscan cities, e.g. Fiesole and Caere, the mouths of sewers appear in the city walls or the cliffs below the walls.

Bounded by the intersecting streets stood blocks of small houses (*insulae*). They bring us very near to the Etruscan folk, these small enclosed spaces, which were the rooms in which they lived. Such houses as remain are not the mansions of the great but the simple quarters of the working people. Each *insula* was in effect a block of tenements built round a common courtyard which was provided with a well in one

¹ The significance of the terms *cardo* and *decumanus*, as referring to Etruscan cities, is indicated in the following passage taken from *A Guide to Etruscan Antiquities* (see Appendix): 'Etruscan cities. . . . The straight streets intersecting one another at right angles were called *cardini* when they went from north to south, and *decumani* when they lay from east to west. The largest central thoroughfare each way was called respectively *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*.'

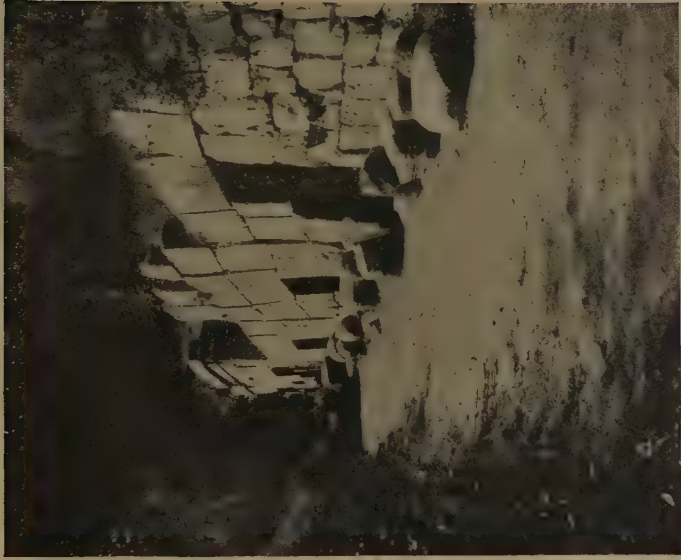
corner. The whole scheme bears some resemblance to Roman buildings of the Imperial time excavated at Ostia. The Marzabotto tenements may have been two-storied ; the positions on the ground floor on the street side would be occupied by shops. There is a difference of opinion about the building material employed ; some think that the walls were made of unbaked bricks, some that squared and fitted stone was used.

The temples and altars of Marzabotto are unique in their fine state of preservation ; they are referred to in Chapter VI.

Etruscan graves may be seen at several spots outside the city walls, whilst graves of Gauls have been found within the walls. Outside the north gate, near the lake of the Villa Aria, are clustered the ruins of a necropolis of a character quite peculiar to Marzabotto. Under the outspread arms of kindly trees lie the broken tombs, dignified and aloof in the serene atmosphere of death, impelling us to silence, carrying us in thought to tiny ancient graveyards in old Scotland, lonely and abandoned, where the dead sleep in peace for all time. The Etruscan graves have not been spared by the hands of greed and curiosity ; one and all, they are empty now. No fewer than 150 graves are scattered about on the grassy margin of the lake. They are very simple. Four slabs of travertine were set upright in the ground ; perhaps one was laid down for a floor, whilst the top was covered in with one or two more which might be trimmed into the shape of a low house-roof. That was all—a mere box a few feet long and broad and about three feet deep. These are the only existing examples of tombs of this type, which have been named *tombe ad arca*, or ark-like tombs; they are



ETRUSCAN CEMETERY, MARZABOTTO
(See p. 28)



STREET OF ETRUSCAN TOMBS, ORVIETO
(See p. 40)



related to the one-roomed chamber tombs, with the difference that they are above ground (p. 39). Within the grave would be placed the receptacle containing the ashes of the deceased (for incineration was the rule, inhumation the exception, here and at this period), as well as his funeral equipment of weapons, utensils, and ornaments. The Gauls who lived in the city after conquering it had no scruples about making their interments within the walls, even utilizing wells for the purpose. They did not cremate their dead. A group of six of their graves was discovered a few yards lower down the slope than the temple sites ; it is now indicated by an obelisk. Close by is the spring of water which fed an Etruscan fountain.

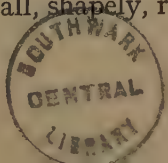
Is there any one so unimaginative, so deaf to the voices of history, that he can visit Marzabotto without being stirred by a sense of the callous march of the generations of men over their fellows, and by the gentle ministrations of nature in covering up the wreckage of their strife ? We may go to the ancient place in the fervent heat of summer : not a tree stirs, not a sound circulates round us save the crackle of the grasshopper and the roll of the distant traffic on the highway ; the green and gold lizard stops to look at us, is gone in a breath. Mountains surround us, watchful, crest behind crest ; falling in precipices of raw, harsh rock ; sliced as by the knives of torrents into grisly, hateful grey slopes which carry their menace to the very brink of the river ; rising smooth and gracious, wooded, or grassy, or yellow with corn, up to the sky. Nearly every summit is crowned with farm-steadings, homes of laborious people. How wise are the faces of these hills which have watched the doings of men for twenty-six centuries or more ! The Reno slips along almost

imperceptibly to the sea, but vast sweeps of rolled shingle speak of the torrential floods of winter and spring. We see the peasant carting the river pebbles for his road-making, in much the same way as the Etruscan of 500 B.C. collected them for his walls and roads and drains. We walk down the grass-carpeted *cardo* or *decumanus*, once so busy, so lively with the clatter of sandalled feet, on which now the little apples fall noiselessly from the bordering trees; we come to an abrupt ending of our way in a down-dropping cliff, the limit reached by Reno in his devouring progress. We go up amongst the temples and altars, solitary, speechful, asking, asking, all through the years, 'Where are my people?' Tiny plants have made homes in their crevices, modest herbs offer fragrant sympathy, the bramble drapes them with trailing grace; but the young oak in its aggressive growth strives to thrust their stones asunder. And silence, silence embalms them.

Bologna has in its civic museum a most precious, very famous document—a graphic page from the social history of this corner of Etruria as it was about the end of the sixth century B.C. The story is beaten out in relief on an ordinary bronze bucket, a *situla*, which was found in a local tomb of no great pretensions. The ornamentation of the vessel is carried round it in four zones, and reproduces in concise pictures a variety of incidents belonging to provincial life. It is quite profitable for the student to examine this object carefully before he goes to Marzabotto. It will help him to bring the people back to their houses and their fields and their sanctuaries. The farmer is coming down from the slopes, his plough over his shoulder, his oxen in front of him. The hunting-party is returning from

the hills in well-laden satisfaction, men carrying a deer, others dragging a wild boar, hunting dogs in close attendance. Two friends are enjoying their leisure hour together ; they are passing the time cheerfully with wine, music, and conversation. One scene is a military parade in which are shown horse and foot soldiers equipped very variously and carrying their lances dipping as if the occasion were one of military obsequies. There is a second procession, or a second part of the first ; many a time must its counterpart have paced slowly up the winding path leading from Marzabotto's streets to its altars, for this is a company carrying their dead to offer on his behalf the last sacrifices before placing him in his tomb. The centre of interest lies in the two men who are carrying a *situla* slung from a pole which rests on their shoulders ; it contains the ashes of the deceased. Priests and relatives walk in front and behind. Servants bear on their heads bundles of faggots for the altar, jars of wine and water—all the necessities for the offerings ; ram and bull are being led to their sacrificial death. Very rarely has history satisfied us, not only with a pictured scene from her dramatic pageant, but with a real original stage on which to place it.

Fittingly housed in a small museum within the grounds of the Villa Aria are many objects found in the excavations. Amongst them are skeletons of men and women (Gauls and Etruscans) whose bodies had been buried instead of being cremated—a rare practice in this locality, though common around Bologna. They furnish much information about stature, teeth, head measurements, etc. One lady's teeth are exceptionally beautiful, small, shapely, regular ; some ladies



still wear their bracelets, and the soldier still keeps his lance within the hollow of his arm. The grave memorials in stone are distinctive of this district ; they are characterized by simplicity of design and bold proportions. They may be conical, pillar-shaped, or plain gravestones ; where they bear figures the sculptor has cut into his stone with a firm, sure hand. One



FIG. 3

CIPPUS, BEARING CARVINGS OF RAMS' HEADS.
MUSEUM AT MARZABOTTO

cippus (memorial stone) shows great excellence ; the upper part is a stylized fir cone of elegant curvatures ; this rests on a thick, square base carved at each corner into the semblance of a ram's head, the muzzle and spreading horns of which were very often used by Etruscan sculptors for decorative purposes. Illustrating house-construction we find a furnace six feet in

diameter, and many well-made drain-pipes ; amongst household conveniences there appear spoons, three and four pronged forks, small jars hung from chains, capacious vessels for the storage of oil and grain. There are many examples of the smooth river-stones used as weights and marked in various denominations, as well as quantities of *aes rude*, the formless bits of bronze which, reckoned by weight, constituted the equivalent of money before the Etruscans adopted a coinage. Over many of the small things one would like to linger—jewellery, vases, strigils, a bronze *patera*, the fragments of a boy's sandals.

After spending long hours in seeing and touching the relics of the lost Etruscan tribes, reconstructing their daily life from their implements and utensils, and following their footsteps in the streets, we may almost imagine that we can appreciate their mentality. Sky and hot sunshine, ancient hill and living things look to us much as they looked to them. But the blackness of night brings the black void of ignorance. Let us stand at midnight on the *cardo* of Marzabotto at an hour when the mountains are scarce darker than the sky, drawing around us in imagination the ghosts from the graves. Let us look down to the level where runs the railway line and watch for the mighty train which blazes a way through earth and air like one of Jove's thunderbolts. Can we fathom at such a moment the tumult of thoughts which would career through the minds of our spirit-companions ? What could they understand of the rushing roar, the wildly-speeding lights, the sudden disappearance into the very mountain itself ? How infinitely beyond their comprehension would be the motley crowd of human beings packed away within the monster, some of them

belonging to races which had no existence when they themselves existed, some of them migrants from lands not even fabled in their Mediterranean world.

What an epitome, what an all-comprehensive symbol is that train ! It is animated with the concentrated essence of generations of scientific minds. Its human freight, gathered from the wide earth and soon to scatter again to the far corners of the earth, throbs with the complex diversity of knowledge and emotions with which the evolution of centuries has endowed the human race, gives no hint, however, of the millions into which that race has multiplied. To us it is a modest reminder of the miraculous success of man in the annihilation of space and time. To the Etruscan, not even his gods would be adequate as an explanation.

The twelve capital cities of the Confederacy arranged in the order of foundation suggested by some authorities were : Tarquinia, Vulci, Vetulonia, Cerveteri, Arezzo, Chiusi, Roselle, Volterra, Cortona, Perugia, Volsinii, Veio (these are the modern names, except Volsinii, probably the modern Orvieto). After the extermination of Veio, Populonia would appear to have been given federal rank ; various reasons are suggested to explain the late elevation of this very ancient city.

About several of these cities a few facts have already been given ; the others are less likely to be visited, being either difficult to reach or less worthy of a visit. Arezzo is on the hill railway route from Florence to Rome, but it has little to show ; it was exceptional in having walls of brick. The imposing walls of Roselle, mixed in their style of construction, stand now in picturesque loneliness. Vetulonia, almost certainly one of the landing-places of the Tyrrheni, but at the present time several miles from the sea, is a wilderness.

There is little to be seen now in this city of long lineage, quite possibly populated by Tyrrheni before 800 B.C., and certainly a stronghold of the Villanovans long before that date. Its main interest for this generation has lain in the series of tombs which teach strange lessons in history and from which priceless funeral equipment of every kind has been recovered. Most of the tombs have been reclosed, their contents now being preserved in the museum at Florence, where also may be seen clever reconstructions of some of the sepulchres. Some of the streets of Vetulonia have been excavated ; they differ from those of Marzabotto in their winding lines and in the irregularity with which they cross each other. Their pavements must have been exceedingly substantial ; large polygonal stones, levelled as to their upper faces and tapering conically in the part fixed within the ground, are fitted together to form the road surface. An idea of their size is given by the fact that their average area is eighty centimetres by forty centimetres.

Populonia may have been the commercial capital of the country. It was situated on the headland of Piombino, over against Elba. From Elba came copious supplies of iron, and Populonia provided the smelting furnaces.

Spina was a port on the Adriatic coast of Italy, but no actual trace of it has been discovered. However, amongst the marshes of Comacchio, near Ravenna, separated from the sea by a mile of new-made land, two cemeteries have been found. One of them must have belonged to a Greek settlement, and during the last few years about 500 of its tombs have been opened up, yielding Greek pottery of the highest quality and in such quantity that the collection of it now in Bologna

is one of the richest in the world. Alongside the Greek cemetery was one which indicated an Etruscan settlement. Very likely Spina was the doorway by which Felsina communicated with the eastern seas.

Many other places which have been occupied by the Etruscans are scattered throughout Italy, but they must be left without description. Twenty-four great centres of civilization have been identified within Etruria proper. Some are in these days destitute of a single dwelling ; some, such as Florence and Pisa, are buried under modern cities.

We find it hard to visualize Rome as being Etruscan, but there are some extraordinary facts apparently well proved which compel us to recognize their significance in this connexion. First, Rome was ruled by an Etruscan trio of kings for well over a century. Second, this meant more than the supremacy of powerful individual adventurers, for during the period in question the peculiar genius of the usurping nation was being applied on a grand scale within Rome, in building temples, in draining the marshes between the hills, and in surrounding the city with fortified walls. Evidence of all these activities we can still see in Rome—in the temple excavations on the Capitol, in the Cloaca Maxima (the part visible now is a reconstruction of the time of Agrippa), in the lower room of the Mamertine Prison, which was an Etruscan fountain or cistern, and in the so-called tomb of Romulus in the Forum. The piece of wall formerly attributed to Servius Tullius, the second of the Etruscan rulers, is of no earlier date than about 350 B.C.

CHAPTER III

THE TOMBS OF THE ETRUSCANS

EIGHT hundred years of graves : the national monument of Etruria. But for the writing on that monument the old nation would be for us little more than a name—a disputed name ; instead of which, so extensive, so varied, so full of throbbing life is the knowledge to be gathered in the dark dwellings that there grows up an eerie feeling that the people of those centuries must have crept into their underground hiding-places, and stayed there ready to come forth when we call to them and to tell us their story. We know how they dressed ; what their kitchens were like, what their souls were like ; we can find reasons to explain why they waxed mighty and why they fell to feebleness.

Through careful scientific investigation a most remarkable sequence of burial customs has been revealed, of which a slight outline given at this point may be useful before dealing with the graves in detail. When the proto-Etruscans, the Tyrrheni as we call them provisionally, made their entry into Italy by way of the west coast they found a Villanovan civilization which invariably practised cremation with its dead. That is a fact of outstanding importance. The ashes of the deceased were usually placed in an earthenware jar, often an ordinary water-jar, and covered with an inverted drinking-vessel. In some cases a helmet made of pottery or of bronze was substituted for the drinking-vessel. In other localities the ashes were enclosed in a little pottery model of the hut in which

the person had lived ; many of these have been found, and there are good examples in the British Museum. The urn, perhaps placed within another receptacle, was deposited in a well-like pit in the ground which occasionally was given a lining of stones. Even in this rude form of sepulture, there were ' tomb furnishings '—a jug or a vase laid in the urn or close to it. Such graves are called ' well-tombs '—*tombe a pozzo*. Many of them have been found at Vetulonia, Vulci, Populonia, and Cerveteri.

The Tyrrheni practised both cremation and inhumation, and their incoming amongst the Villanovans is indicated by a change in the cemeteries, as seen at Vetulonia, Tarquinia, Vulci, Populonia, etc. The Tyrrheni dug for their burials wide, deep graves, within which were laid the dead, either simply wrapped round in garments or protected by wooden caskets. These were the *tombe a fossa*. The Tyrrheni also introduced the cupola (*tholos*) form of tomb, the best examples of which, at Populonia and Vetulonia, belong, it is thought, to the eighth or the seventh century. They are, as a rule, circular and covered in with false vaulting ; there is a model in the garden of the museum at Florence. Vetulonia has supplied our information about the next advance in tomb-planning, when the grave or a number of graves were fenced in by a circle of upright stone slabs sunk in the ground—*tombe a circolo*. The largest of these are sixty feet in diameter. The ' Tomb of the Prince ' at Vetulonia has yielded the most wonderful set of relics yet found in this kind of grave ; they are preserved now, intact, in the Florence Museum. The ashes of the prince had been enshrined in a chest covered with sheeting of embossed silver. Other two trenches associated with

that which held the ash-chest contained, one a large bronze cauldron filled with various bowls, candelabra, etc., the other fragments of a chariot. From another 'circle' grave came two magnificent cauldrons of bronze. It is considered that these graves belong to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century, that is, to the time when the Tyrrhene occupation had lasted a century or so. The circle grave would be covered with heaped-up earth, and by degrees such mounds assumed greater and greater proportions until they culminated in tumuli which resembled miniature hills—the *tombe a tumulo*. The tumulus would be surmounted by a stone monument of some kind—an inscribed pillar or slab, a lion or a sphinx. To see these great tumuli one must visit Cerveteri (Caere), where, from the seventh century to the beginning of the fourth, they were being piled up. Other cities were built in the same way, e.g. Populonia, Vetulonia, and Vulci, but nothing they can show is comparable with the grand assemblage at Cerveteri.

In its general appearance a tumulus may be compared with a much-flattened cathedral dome, the shallow drum being either hewn out of the rock or built up of rock and masonry, the rounded upper part being of earth. The graves themselves are hidden deep within the mound. When the latter had reached a certain size it became necessary to make a passage through the rock or the stonework of the drum in order to reach the grave ; in this way originated the corridor tomb—*sepolcro a corridoio*. Another change appeared when the grave-trench was enlarged into a small room, the body being then laid on a stone shelf cut out of the rock. The next idea was to have several rooms in communication with the corridor, and the climax, after

many generations had added their quota of modifications, was the chambered tomb—the *tomba a camere*, which was a reproduction of the many-roomed house in which a rich man lived. Further, the tomb became not merely the burial-place of an individual but the last family home to which father, son, and grandson brought their dead.

As the centuries passed and the populations increased, places of interment had to be arranged to meet the exigencies of space, each locality finding its own solution. The making of tumuli would be limited to level ground ; where there were cliffs, the tombs would be hollowed out in these if the rock was not too difficult to work, whilst elsewhere the tomb-makers burrowed downwards into the solid rock and cut long flights of steps leading to the burial chambers. Many at Tarquinia are planned in the last-mentioned way, and were also covered by a small tumulus to mark the spot. At Chiusi one finds tombs scattered far and wide on any rising ground, but at Orvieto (sixth and fifth centuries) and at Caere (fourth century or earlier) the tomb-houses are distributed in a veritable simulation of a town ; they form a necropolis, a ‘ city of the dead ’. Within such a city one may walk down streets bordered with dwellings meant for eternity, look in at doorways on whose lintels the owner’s name still reads fresh and clear. Sometimes the street is a roadway excavated in the rock, sometimes the houses are built of heavy hewn stones.

Cerveteri, because of the vast extent of its tomb remains and the anticipations aroused by the research operations going on there at present, merits some further notice. Whilst crossing the five miles of flat country lying between Palo and Cerveteri village, the

traveller should look out for the tumuli that here and there break the level. It was down on this tract, near the Bracciano road, about a kilometre from the city, that there was discovered the famous Regolini-Galassi tomb described on page 133. Another tumulus, well on the way from Caere to Pyrgi (Santa Severa) is a centre of interest because of the excavations now in progress there. This is *Montetosto*, the largest tumulus in Etruria. Already a great deal of labour has been expended on it, but so far no entrance to its tombs has been found ; when the workers at last stand before the doors, how keen will be their expectations, for within it they are likely to find unrifled sepulchres.

The journey from Palo affords a fine view of the tableland over which ancient Caere extended and on the western corner of which modern Cerveteri has been established. Isolated burial-places are situated not only on the adjoining plain but on slight eminences, and within the rocks on steep hill-sides ; the great gathering-ground, however, is the Banditaccia, an elongated strip of high land lying to the north of the city plateau and separated from it by a shallow depression containing a ditch-like stream. At the eastern end a road, lined with tombs, formed one of the main thoroughfares between the old city and the cemetery. From the village the latter is now usually approached by way of a lane on the west running northwards and then eastwards, a road which in summer is painfully hot and dusty. Just when one begins to think it is also never-ending its character changes. We now walk in a roadway driven through rock, lined on both sides with the damaged walls of what had evidently once been smooth-faced dwellings. We have entered the town of the Etruscan dead ; throughout the whole

length of the eminence—between one and two miles—runs this, its principal street. We walk from block to block of houses, pass the ends of cross-streets, mark the single rooms of the poor, the more important abodes of the middle-class, and the mansions of the nobility. These last are extraordinary in their simple realization of grandeur: they are the far-famed tumuli of Caere. There are many of them, a few being of specially great size and in perfect preservation.

At one point in our journey we reach a small house placed by the gate of a wire-fenced enclosure. This, the main part of the necropolis, is under Government administration, and the house is the local headquarters of the excavation committee, the work being under the direction of Professor Mengarelli. Visiting the place once during August, we were haunted throughout our hot walk by the fear that everything would be shut up. Relief was correspondingly great when we found the staff represented and the usual courtesy forthcoming even at an inconvenient hour. This part of the necropolis may be compared with an overcrowded quarter in one of our own big towns. Whilst one great tumulus may be devoted to only three or four *tombe a camere*, a similar area in the open may be packed close with grave-chambers. The sepulchres, including those in the tumuli, are generally reached by short flights of steps, so worn that the descent has to be made with care. Doorways may lie gaping wide, or be blocked half-way up with stone, or may be completely closed with their original barriers of heavy slabs of rock. Within, variety in house-planning and house-decoration is met with everywhere; some details are given in other pages of this book.

After completing our survey, passing from point to point with growing wonder, we leave the precincts and retrace our steps, oblivious now of the tiresome road. We turn for a last look at the tumuli. And there they stand, in startling relationship to the nearer hills, shoulder to shoulder as it were—the one a replica of the other. Not the broken peaks of the distant mountain range, but the low summits of the foot-hills, whose long curves fall away in perfect symmetry from the apex, wide cones resting on strong, steep-sided bases. Archaeology and ancient history may not favour our theory, but what more likely than that, in what he looked upon as the eternal hills, the stately patrician of Caere saw the grandest possible model from which to construct for himself a memorial which he hoped would last for ever?

At Norchia, Bieda, and Castel d'Asso, wild spots somewhat difficult to reach, the tombs line the sides of ravines, and may be ranged tier above tier. The passion for keeping the new life in touch with the old is expressed in these places by carving the cliff-face into architectural forms—dwelling-houses, or temple fronts with pillared porticoes and sculptured tympani. Very peculiar in their mimicry of houses are some of the rock-tombs at Sovana, for they have been constructed from detached masses of rock and modelled both inside and out in imitation of dwellings.

When one turns from the external features of the sepulchres to their interiors and their contents the material at our disposal is so bewilderingly profuse and so intriguing that one rebels against the selection and rejection which are compulsory. Only by studying scores of examples can one realize how the thought expended on furnishing the homes of the dead varied

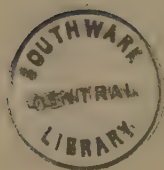
from district to district and from generation to generation.

In many of these underground rooms the walls were left in the condition of naked rock. On them were suspended household dishes, armour, and funeral wreaths, many of these objects being found hanging from their rusty nails when the graves were opened. At a fairly early date vaulted roofs were introduced ; there is a small one in the *Tomba del Granduca* near Chiusi, and an exceptionally fine example of barrel-vaulting in the tomb of *San Manno*, near Perugia. In many ways the latter is a singular monument. To begin with, its history and present associations are strange. Visiting it, we examine first the subterranean burial-chamber ; then, returning to the surface, we pass from a small adjacent courtyard into a tiny chapel built over the vault. This has belonged to the Knights of Malta for many centuries. Above the chapel rises a tower, and connected with the whole, and placed round the courtyard, are a farm-house and its out-houses. The actual succession upwards is—the tomb, the chapel, and a granary. When Professor Buonamici of Florence visited the place in 1914 he found in use as a water-trough a fine ash-urn with a well-preserved inscription. The burial-chamber is most impressive in size, twenty-seven feet long, twelve wide, and fifteen high. The rounded vault of the roof is perfect ; its stones, some of which are seven feet long, are beautifully fitted and hewn to form the curve. Along one side of the roof extends a far-famed inscription (p. 171), cut deep into the stones. *Bettona*, a few miles from Perugia, has a vaulted tomb of late date—second and first centuries B.C.

A fashion which prevailed in the tumuli at Caere for



THE TOMBS OF THE STUCCOES, CERVETERI



two centuries was to dress the walls with reliefs in painted stucco. The most elaborate accomplishment of this kind is the famous *Tomb of the Stuccoes*, where we find plaster copies of everything pertaining to the military occupant's existence—his weapons, armour, domestic utensils, etc. Amongst the many niches prepared for the dead in this tomb, that of the head of the family is placed centrally and is carved into a fine

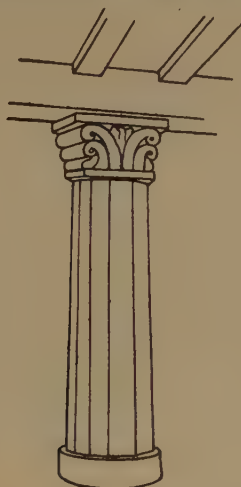


FIG. 4

TUSCAN COLUMN: FORM SEEN IN THE TOMB OF
THE CAPITALS AT CERVETERI

representation of a couch. Near its head hangs a crown, a fan occupying the corresponding place by the adjacent bed of a lady. On one of the pillars are grouped together a huntsman's purse, the rudder of a boat, and a goose—commemorative of some man's sporting skill on the lagoons. Perhaps a noted housewife was honoured on the other side of the chamber,

where we see models of an egg-switch, a cheese, a duck, and a pan for cooking macaroni, whilst a pussy-cat completes the domestic picture.

The Caere tombs are full of architectural information ; not only is the ground plan that of a dwelling; but the ceilings are carved into beams and rafters and may be supported by sculptured rock columns of typical Tuscan character, whilst fluted pilasters are used decoratively. The Etruscan (Tuscan) order of architecture was a modified Doric ; the columns approached the Ionic in possessing bases, whilst the moulding of their capitals resembled Doric. Wood was the material generally employed, sometimes bricks ; a character practically imposed by this fact is the absence of fluting from the pillars.

Some of the tombs are family possessions, the largest known being one which contains fifty-four sepulchral couches. There are at Caere interesting interiors which possess stone furniture. In one, an arm-chair carved out of rock stands beside the couch of the dead ; in another, two similar chairs are placed against the wall of an inner chamber ; these last are furnished with stone footstools, and shields are carved on the walls above them.

The results already attained and the prospects for the future of the excavations amongst the Caere tombs are full of encouragement. Tombs of every kind are being opened up, the poorest and the oldest as well as the tumuli of the rich ; amongst them are a few *tombe a fossa*, covered over with small-scale tumuli. One of the great tumuli has undergone searching scientific investigation. The measurements made prove that the form is not truly conical but parabolic. The four chambered tombs hidden within it differ

considerably in age and form a chronological series ; they belonged to a succession of descendants of one family.

Two of the newly opened grave-chambers presented to their investigators walls partly covered with paintings, which are not common in this necropolis. The most striking subjects introduced were animals, in especial two fine lions, coloured conventionally red and white. To paint the walls in bright colours was far the most interesting treatment adopted by the tomb-artists ; possibly the idea was suggested by the gay Eastern tapestries which hung on the walls of the homes. So important are these pictures as sources of historical knowledge that they must be given a chapter to themselves.

CHAPTER IV

TOMB FRESCOES

‘WE penetrate into the tombs excavated in the limestone, and from the shadows called forth by the lamp, spring out suddenly full of life many-coloured moving figures painted on the surrounding walls. They seem to constitute a magical apparition from beyond the tomb of the serene, joyous life of the Etruscans, and nowhere else in any other Etruscan necropolis, as in these hypogea sacred to death, does one feel oneself so closely in contact with the life of the glorious vanished people, who seem, through the kindly illusion of our sense of sight, to be pulsating in full vitality.’¹ So writes Ducati of the tombs at Tarquinia.

Most of the burial-places having frescoed walls are in Tarquinia, Chiusi, Orvieto, and Veii. There are a few traces elsewhere, but one may suspect that preference for this kind of decoration was localized as well as extremely persistent. Many of the tombs which fortunately were described by Dennis with much amplitude of language and which were copied in line or colour by several investigators are now lost or ruined. The Etruscan student should endeavour to visit as many as possible of those which are on view ; a moderate amount of foresight and inquiry will usually secure an entry.

The technique employed in the paintings does not vary much. Generally the rock surface is coated with stucco and then frescoed ; in one or two cases distemper

¹ *Etruria Antica*, Part I, p. 19

is tried on the plaster, and in one or two, as at Chiusi, the colour is laid straight on the bare rock. Except in some of the later pictures no attempt is made at natural colouring, the hues being selected in purely arbitrary fashion for the sake of effect ; one convention commonly adhered to is to represent the skin of women by pale yellowish and that of men by dark reddish colours.

The subject-matter involved is of such high historical value that a proper estimate of it can be obtained only by studying the graves in their chronological order as far as that has been ascertained. This chapter will be devoted to the description, sometimes quite brief, of the principal tomb frescoes, arranged in the centuries to which they have been assigned by the most recent investigations.

No painted tombs of earlier date than the end of the seventh century have been found, and the only good example of that period is the *Campana Tomb* at Veii, the only one left, Dennis says, out of 1,000 which had been excavated. It is a two-roomed house hollowed out in the rock on the slopes over against Veii, on the north side. The paintings are placed on the wall between the two rooms and consist of two wide bands of extraordinary figures. On a long-legged horse led by a naked man sits a childlike creature holding in leash something resembling a tailless cat ; a sphinx with a very curly tail is getting a push from behind by a panther ; a dog and a lion are associating on terms of good-fellowship ; every corner left is filled up with some odd bit of design. Quite a number of interpretations have been suggested for this very archaic composition—that it is purely decorative in intention, that it stands for a hunting exploit, that it is

an allusion to the journey of the soul (the child figure) into the next world ; this last is highly improbable. Some of the details point to the influence of Egyptian art.

And now we travel to the great galleries of tomb paintings, the Etruscan Uffizi, the necropolis which lies hid within the Monterozzi at Tarquinia. We have already seen it in its setting ; its abrupt crags look northwards across the valley to the ancient city whose people it finally housed ; from its long crest the mourners had, to south and east, far views of flat coast-land and shining blue sea. Then, as now, the height must have been cheerless and barren ; its miserable soil maintains only thin grass and prickly weeds. A few sheep and cattle belonging to one or two homesteads graze here and there on the rough surface. A medieval aqueduct crosses one end, and a modern cemetery is established on the other. The road along the top probably follows pretty closely the course taken by the Etruscan main road ; but the broken hummocks give a mere vestige of an idea of what the place must have looked like when it was covered thick with hundreds of mounds, little tumuli, which, capped with *cippus* or sphinx or lion, distinguished one from another the family vaults which lay deep in the rock beneath them. The destruction of the monuments during the first half of last century seems to have been stupid and extensive ; the building stones were dragged out to make sheds, chambers to which the entrance had been found were used as shelters for workmen and cattle, tomb contents were destroyed or dispersed amongst private persons. The earliest discovery of a painted tomb appears to have been made in 1699—the *Grotta del Cardinale*. Towards

the middle of the nineteenth century the Government caused doors to be fitted to the opened tombs ; at the present time the whole necropolis is under Government supervision, every tomb is provided with a hood-like entrance of masonry and a locked gate ; a guide is furnished on application to the museum at Tarquinia.

I hope the reader will pardon my personal infatuation for the frescoed walls of Tarquinian tombs. Previous to seeing them I had read more than one enthusiastic and glowing description, and I had visited the painted chambers at Chiusi. But I was not prepared for Tarquinia. In the first place, the pictures at Chiusi are comparatively faint and poorly preserved owing to the custom there employed of laying the colour on the bare rock. In the second place, perhaps I had somewhat mistrusted the ecstasies of excited discoverers ; so possibly the less I say now the more readily will it be believed. I passed down the worn steps into my first tomb from pale evening light to meet what should have been the blank darkness of a cavern ; and suddenly, at the call of the lamp, there flashed forth from the walls scenes passionately alive, men and women who joyfully defied you to think they were all dead and gone, far less that they had been dust for twenty-four centuries. Utter amazement, in spite of all one's previous imaginings, in spite of knowing the pictures nearly off by heart : nothing less expresses the first sensation aroused. The figures are so convincing in the reality of their repose and in the living quality of their activity, the colours are so fresh in their brilliance, the intimate little details of everyday life are so appealingly direct that one feels that pictorial art has triumphed over time, has brought together the living of to-day and the dead of those Etruscan days.

All but one of the sixth-century tombs, a superb group, belong to Tarquinia, the Federation capital. The *Tomb of the Bulls*, judging by the archaic spelling in an inscription, was used in the early part of the century. The unnatural stiffness of the figures is reminiscent of the primitive drawing in the Campana tomb, but the subject is totally different. We have now before us an unmistakable story—the Greek tale of Achilles lying in ambush for Troilus at the well. The accessories of armour, etc., are Ionic. The puzzling fact connected with this choice of theme is that Greek subjects do not appear in any other tomb until the fourth century. Perhaps in this exceptional case a copy was made (with a few modifications) direct from an Eastern tapestry which had hung on the house-wall up in Tarquinia.

The pictures in the *Hunting and Fishing Tomb* (*Tomba della Caccia e della Pesca*) might be pages from an illustrated sporting journal. They have been reproduced on the walls of one of the rooms in the Florence Museum. In one scene huntsmen are making their way through the bushes; boys carry the spoils of the chase and the knobby sticks used for hunting hares; the dogs, very life-like, are sniffing at the carcase, nosing out a sitting hare and racing alongside the horse. In the seascape the artist has shown himself master of quite a telling simplicity of style and has produced a work of crowded animation. A steep crag rises sheer from the waves, and round it ride the boats, which are long, flat affairs provided with a very knowing 'eye'. Sea-birds are everywhere—sitting on the water, folding their wings to come to rest, wheeling around in great agitation. Men in the boats scare them with shouts and gestures, whilst a slingsman

stationed on the rock gets such as come within his range. Other boatmen lower nets or spear their catch with three-pronged harpoons. Dolphins fling themselves into the air, and one man is making a magnificent dive from the top of the rock. As a most incongruous finish the painter has placed a dado of wreaths close under the ceiling. This naïve combination of outdoor and indoor characters recurs constantly in pictures. The scenes just described are pure Etruscan, rippling with life, and delightfully informative about the open-air doings of the Tarquinians. But why put them in a tomb? That is the question which may be asked concerning all the garnishings of the grave-chambers. Dishes, clothes, armour, chariots were obviously there because the deceased would need such things in the world to which he had passed and would prefer those to which he was accustomed. It would also please him to have a home-like dwelling and the familiar happenings of his old world looking out at him from its walls. That may be the explanation of the pictures of gay gardens, family gatherings, revels of wine and dance, gymnastic games of many kinds. They may have been expressions of the people's philosophy of death, that it was no more than the translation of a human being to an existence differing from that which he was leaving only in being more perfectly care-free and mirthful. Perhaps the underlying motive was to surround the departed with happy memories, hoping that he would be able to carry them with him into the unknown future. Or there may have underlain these superstitions some vague faith in the power of the 'sympathetic magic' of the paintings to *create* the conditions of happiness which they symbolized. At all events, the outlook is bright for the sixth-century

mourners ; for them, no evil spirits lurk in dark corners, no serpents hiss from their dens in the earth ; the birds will sing in the wind-shaken trees of the Elysian gardens and the piper will pipe his tunes for the swift feet of the dancers.

Two cheerful Tarquinian places of interment belong to the first half of the century, the *Tomb of the Lionesses*, with its ecstatic dance round a huge wine-jar, and the *Tomb of the Painted Vases*, which shows us how a rich family enjoyed its al fresco meal. Both are described in Chapter X.

The *Tomb of the Augurs* dates from about the middle of the sixth century, and in it we are confronted with another kind of subject in the treatment of which there are reminders of Greek art. Here, a death-note is struck by the two mourning augurs standing at the emblematic gate through which the lost one has passed out of sight. Representations of athletic games cover part of the walls, the chief event shown being a wrestling-match. We may safely infer that in this case, as in many others, these games were part of the funeral ceremonies. Close to the wrestlers in this scene a most extraordinary struggle is going on. One does not expect to find Punch among dead and mourning Etruscans, but here he is. Or, at any rate, it is suggested by certain scholars that the burly man wearing mask and comedy jacket and labelled *Phersu* is the prototype of Punchinello. He is engaged in a decidedly savage encounter, for he is encouraging the dog which he holds in leash to tear a little more out of his adversary, already bleeding copiously ; the latter's chances seem poor, as his head is enveloped in a sack and his legs are entangled in the long cord. However, he must have broken free eventually, seeing that another

wall-panel presents Phersu in full flight from the menace of his club. It is well to pay rather special attention to this episode, for the reason that (with one exception, p. 63) it is all the evidence there is for the sweeping and oft-repeated assertion that the Etruscans were inherently a peculiarly cruel race. The inference seems unfair.

The *Tomb of the Inscriptions* (middle of the sixth century) consists of only one room, to which a false impression of further accommodation is given by three doors painted in the middle of the walls. The many short inscriptions from which its name is derived are now badly damaged. It is worthy of note because of the well-preserved tableaux of funeral observances exhibiting in various details the germs of Roman practices. Very piquant is the finish-up of the horse-race. The absolute nudity of the riders is a Greek touch: their only equipment is a whip, even the customary shoes and necklace being absent. The victor flings up his arms in great glee and his horse looks distinctly proud. There is some frenzied Bacchic dancing, possibly indicating the origin of Rome's dance of the Salii. The dancers are naked, or nearly so, wear high, long-toed boots always, and occasionally a loin-cloth, a jacket, a necklace, or a wreath-decked hat, and carry a garland or two wherewith to enhance the rhythm of their gestures. Servants bearing the vessels of the wine-feast mix with the dancers and do a step or two themselves. Music is supplied from the double pipes, as it is also for the wrestling and boxing groups depicted in one corner of the room. The Roman triumphal processions included many of the elements which appear in the Etruscan—horsemen, athletes, flute-players, chariots, etc. The flute-players

in particular held positions of state importance in Rome, just as they seem to have been indispensable on all occasions in Etruria. The decorative design which fills the tympanum recalls the masterly way in which a Greek would fill such a space. In the centre two half-rampant lions turn gaping jaws on two terrified deer whose bodies, drooping on their failing legs, fit naturally under the long, sloping side of the triangle, the design being continued by the sinuous forms of two hunting leopards with long tails running out to the extremity of the angles.



FIG. 5

DESIGN FOR FILLING A TYMPANUM. FROM THE TOMB OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The *Tomb of the Baron* belongs to the same period. Perhaps in it rested a gentleman of the turf, a breeder of those race-horses for which ancient writers said Etruria was famous, and perhaps some of the elegant creatures immortalized on the walls had been winners in the Rome races. Some are being ridden, others are held by their bridles as if their riders were having an argument with a judge. They are drawn with a cleanness of line and a suppleness of movement far in advance of the Campana horses of Veii, although the colours are still comically conventional—blue hoofs, white tails, red bodies. The human figures have now more of Attic slenderness than Ionic plumpness; the composition of the groups throughout has something of Greek repose, restraint, and gracious spacing; this tomb is a great exception in these respects. It is

nearly unique also in the technique employed, for the colours are applied in distemper on the stucco, instead of in fresco. Probably a Greek artist designed and Greek workmen carried out the work; indeed, the tally-marks of the latter, in Greek lettering, are found on the walls.



FIG. 6

DRESS IN THE MIDDLE OF SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

1. Mourner, from Caere tomb-panel.

2. Mourner, from the Tomb of the Augurs.

The British Museum possesses a set of terra-cotta panels which came from Caere and which appear to have been stripped from the walls of a tomb of the early sixth century. The subject includes two sphinxes and part of a funeral procession, the figures being nearly life size. The sphinxes may have been stationed as guardians, one at each side of the door. Two men can be recognized by the dark colour of the skin. The

women wear long straight dresses with embroidered borders ; two have covered their heads with their mantles, and we see another sign of mourning in the hair hanging unbound—luxuriant hair reaching down to the knees. The fashion of the high boot with its turned-up point is shown very distinctly. Various objects are carried by the mourners—an alabastron or funeral oil vase, a wreath, a flower, a spear, a staff surmounted by a bull's head.

The great Tarquinian families seem to have out-rivalled one another in their tomb-building during the first years of the fifth century ; the walls reflect in their scenes of lavish splendour the prosperity of this culminating point of Etruscan development. In them the vision of the hereafter is still the vision inspired by the original Etruscan spirit ; no dread of future infernal horrors obtrudes into the sunny gardens amongst the revellers ; no demons, winged and beaked, stand greedily waiting for the soul. All that comes later.

Two of the tombs of the period—the *Tomb of the Triclinium* and the *Tomb of the Chariots*, which are particularly eloquent about women's place in Etruscan society—are reserved for fuller description in the chapter on women. We will only notice here that in the Triclinium we find ourselves faced by guests resting on the banqueting couches and surrounded by vivacious dancers and musicians. The second tomb is of the highest importance ; its two friezes tell a clear story about many customs of the time. There is, of course, the excitement of the dance and equally of course the feast, in this case a symposium of young men. A long chain of happenings is pictured within the narrow frieze at the top of the wall ; part of it may be the funeral procession of the deceased, part public games



FRESCO IN THE TOMB OF THE LEOPARDS, TARQUINIA

or athletic rehearsals with their crowds of onlookers. The feeling is Etruscan but the picture-maker must have been a Greek ; the figure-drawing and the figure-grouping both indicate this.

The *Tomb of the Leopards* (c. 500 B.C.) is named after the pair of hunting leopards which fill the pediment. Underneath them are the festive couches, which here are occupied in each case by a youth and a maiden, an arrangement which has aroused much controversy. In one corner there is a most attractive pair. The lady's face is of an exquisite sweetness—fair, small-featured, and charmingly expressive in its faintly smiling eagerness for the ring which is held out to her by her companion. The frescoes in this tomb are very well preserved.

In the *Querciola Tomb* (mid-fifth century) one scene represents the rush and trample of a boar-hunt—horses, dogs, beaters driving the beast into nets.

The *Tomb of the Shields*, Tarquinia (late fifth century according to Ducati, third according to Poulsen), to be mentioned again on page 145, shows an advance in three directions. First, Greek influence has given refinement to draperies, heads, etc. ; second, the position of the wife at the feasts has undergone a significant change, for she now sits by the side of her husband instead of reclining ; third, and most momentous, the spirit visitant from the underworld has been created. The particular spirit in the *Tomb of the Shields* is a kindly, winged being who is busy writing a memorial inscription on a tablet. Thus for the first time in tomb art the *demoni* emerge into the view of men, the manifestation of a profound change in the Etruscan's outlook upon death.

For two centuries we have been wandering from

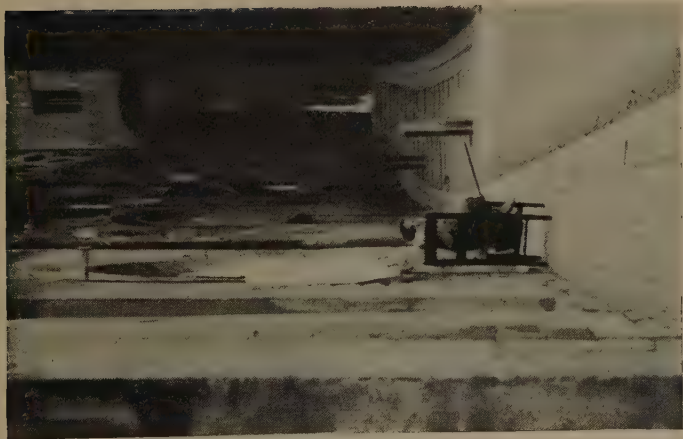
tomb to tomb on the Monterozzi of Tarquinia. Let us now try Chiusi, where some of the sepulchres which have been opened are still accessible. The oldest, the Tomb of the Monkey (*Tomba della Scimmia*, p. 146) probably belongs to the middle of the fifth century. Here, as in the other Chiusi pictures, the colours are laid on the bare rock. The *Casuccini Tomb* is some years later in date. It consists of several small rooms, and the subjects of the frieze are the usual funeral games. Its specially interesting feature is its unique door. This consists of two slabs of travertine swinging on ball and socket hinges ; an upper and a lower corner of each slab project sharply and are pivoted into sockets in the lintel and threshold stones respectively. A push of the hand sets them in motion, and they swing as freely as they did on that far-off day when the man who planned this his last resting-place was carried through its doorway.

The *Tomba dell' Orco* at Tarquinia belongs to the transition stage between the fifth and fourth centuries. Its front room must have been made very gracious by the loveliness of Velia and the nobility of her husband (p. 145) ; but there is neither beauty nor graciousness in their tomb companions. In the corner of Velia's own chamber there strides along surely the most terrifying personification of hostility to man which man has ever thought of. He is a death-demon, and his name, we may please to think, fits him well—*Tuchulcha*. He is a vile compound of the bestial and the human—baleful eyes, a snarling mouth, the ears of an ass, the tearing beak of a vulture : he is *Tuchulcha* of the serpents ; they are horns on his brow, they are latchets to his shoes, every writhing hair is a snake, a monster serpent head moves with the man cheek to

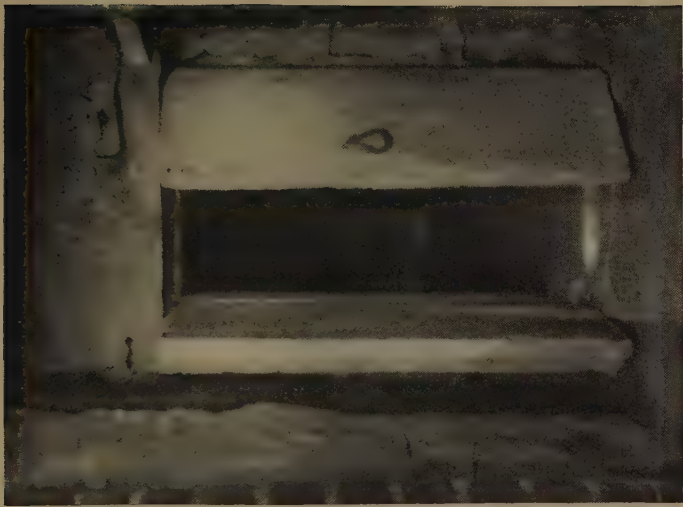
cheek. In the third room of the tomb Tuchulcha is at work. In front of him sits Theseus, caught by the fiend when prowling in the underworld in search of Persephone. The demon serpent here is poised to strike ; its coils pass from arm to arm of its master, whose huge fist grips its neck. This is a sample of what Etruscan superstition made of Greek mythology—Tuchulcha the Etruscan and Theseus the Greek. On the same wall as the picture just described is an illustration of the Etruscan painter's disregard of all unity of subject, for side by side with Tuchulcha's fierce antagonism is a sideboard furnished with wine-vessels and attended by a graceful slave-boy. Such a mural composition would have been inconceivable to a Greek artist. In another picture in the Orco chambers, Hades, wearing his wolf-helmet and accompanied by Persephone, is giving orders to Geryon, who is garbed as a warrior. The Orco is the first of the graves in which there is evidence of the superstitious debasement of the Etruscan attitude towards death ; the old placidity or even pleasurable anticipation is replaced by a foreboding of grisly mysterious horrors.

A burial-place which may be very late fifth or early fourth century brings us amongst the infernal deities again ; it is the splendid vault on the hill-side opposite to Orvieto, known by the several names of the *Tomb of the Velii*, the *Settecamini*, and the *Tomba Golini*. Here we are introduced to the privacies of the family mansion of the Velii, and learn something of their standing in both worlds, of the friendly terms on which their spirits might expect to associate with gods and demigods. The atmosphere is that of a wealthy household in full tide of preparation for great festivities ; there is no Tuchulcha here, no serpent.

This is a hereditary family place of interment, and the frescoes are not necessarily all of the same age. We have first of all the traditional symposium, and the two figures on the couch are probably portrait-studies of the founders of the tomb. They are elderly men—brothers—Velio Lecates (or Leinies) and Arnth Leinies, sons of Larth. The inscription above them gives their genealogy and also the information that Velio had been a consul and a judge in Clusium (Chiusi), and that both had filled religious offices. At the foot of their couch two youths with Greek-featured faces are making music on the lyre and the pipes, whilst beneath the couch *Krankru* the leopard, with arched back and incurved tail, is tearing at his food with intense gusto. Forming an interesting complement to this everyday meal is the picture of the banquet hall in the lower regions, at a time when another member of the family is expected to arrive there. The table is spread, the candles are lit, and the servants are waiting. Vel Leinies, son of the Arnth on the couch, who had died at the age of seven, is there, dressed in his nice white chiton. And there, most wonderful, the high gods themselves, Hades (*Eita*) and Persephone (*Phersipnai*), seated on thrones, converse amiably while they wait. Persephone looks a handsome Greek ; Hades wears his head-dress of wolf-skin. The group which fills another space on the wall may bear reference to the guest expected at the banquet. The youth whose career on earth is finished is acting as his own charioteer from the old world to the new, standing brave and expectant in his *biga* drawn by mettlesome horses. One of the benign *Lase*, the messengers of the great infernal gods, accompanies him, carrying the scroll with its list of his good deeds to be quoted before Hades ; a herald,



VIA VECCHIA, PERUGIA
(See p. 4)



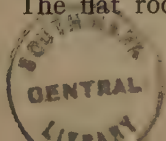
DOOR OF ETRUSCAN TOMB, NEAR CHIUSI
(See p. 60)

provided with one of the famous curved trumpets, stands by to announce the young man's arrival.

Further, in this tomb we are admitted to the back premises of the home, where domestic operations are in progress. The larder is a well-stocked place ; there hang on its walls hares, ducks, doves, spotted deer, and a bull's carcase. The kitchen table is heaped with viands ; men are chopping meat and scrubbing tables, attending to the fire or the oven. And for their enlivenment there is the music of the pipes (the Etruscan equivalent of wireless in the servants' hall), and for occasional diversion there is the monkey perched on its pole. Perhaps when we compare the tombs of Orco and Velii we will form the opinion that the Tarquinians of that day took life and death more seriously than did their contemporaries at Volsinii.

Quite a new subject for mural decorations is found at Vulci (fourth or early third century). It is Greek, the slaughter of the Trojans by Achilles in retaliation for the death of Patroclus, carried out with a nice Greek refinement of revenge, on the grave of the hero. An Etruscan *motif* is introduced in the persons of *Vanth*, a kindly-looking *Lasa*, and *Charun* bearing his invariable Etruscan attribute—a hammer. What most critics of this picture seem to fasten upon as the Etruscan 'touch' is its cruelty. Poulsen says : ' This subject was chosen for its slaughter.' One need not forget that the deed was more cruel than the portrayal of it, and, moreover, that the Etruscan version was copied from Greek sources, friendly *Vanth* being the real 'touch' added by the Etruscans.

One of the most spacious sepulchres in Tarquinia is the *Tomba del Tifone*, measuring forty feet by thirty, and eleven feet high. The flat roof is stuccoed and



painted in imitation of beams ; centrally it is supported by a rock pillar five feet square in section. In possessing several tiers of benches it resembles the Caere chambers. Poulsen and others assign it to the first half of the fourth century ; Ducati places it in the second. Its name originates in the winged and serpent-legged monsters represented on the pillar, powerful expressions of muscular force and crude passion. Only one scene is set out on the wall of the *Tifone* room, and this, as in the older pictures, has for its theme the passing of the soul into the next world ; but its inspiration is far remote from the serenity and even pleasant excitement of the doings of the Velii of Orvieto. The whole content of it is a crowd, the demon-leader of which is apparently knocking at a door, the door of Avernus ; or it may be that he is making offering at an altar—the point is obscure. In the foreground is the man who is to pass through the door, an aristocrat and a priest, as the epitaph informs us. Charun's claws are sunk in his shoulder, and other spirits mingle with the friends who accompany the dead man : all turn tense faces towards the door. What a tremendous change there is here ! We see men now shrinking in dread from the thought of going down into the unknown : their faces betray it. The artistic execution in this fresco is greatly in advance of anything we have already noted. The heads are expressive and individualized, the draperies fall in soft folds, the difficulties of perspective have been mastered, above all there is a unity of feeling pervading the whole which is expressed with much strength and vividness.

The *Tomb of the Cardinal* at Tarquinia is third-century work, or, in the opinion of Van Essen, second

century : an undoubted product of the age of decadence. The place of burial is an immense, low-ceiled hall of gloom. The painted story is carried round the wall on one band about a foot deep ; it is merely a long, long procession of hopeless dead being hounded by demons into their graves. Most of them are dragging along on foot, a few are on horseback or in cars. All are stricken alike ; death and despair are sounding in the rhythm to which their weary feet are passing onward. How tragic a contrast to the gay garden dances of the years gone by ! The *demoni* are devils now, exulting in their power to torture—taunting, pushing, hauling ; there is but one saving touch of compassion (p. 159).

The practice of painting the walls of the houses of the dead appears to have died out before 100 B.C. One of the last examples within our knowledge is the *Tomb of the Festoons* at Tarquinia, where the decoration is limited to garlands of flowers and a few isolated figures.

CHAPTER V

THE FURNISHINGS OF THE TOMBS

TURNING our attention to the more personal details pertaining to the disposal of the dead, we find that the two fundamentally different customs of inhumation and cremation were practised in Etruria throughout its whole history. Nothing could be simpler than one form of burial: the dead man was taken on his chariot-bier to the home-like room prepared for him, and there he was laid reverently on what represented the bed in his home. This might be just a plain bench cut out in the rock, or a more realistic imitation of a couch carved in the stone, or it might even be his own iron or bronze bedstead, as it was in the rare instance seen in the Regolini-Galassi grave at Caere (p. 133). The warrior, who would be also priest and prince, lay clad in his armour, whilst his weapons were disposed conveniently around him. The princess must wear her richest gold-spangled gown, and the treasures from her jewel-case must lie ready for her choosing. Her little table with toilet accessories was often placed by her side, and her favourite pieces of silver and bronze hung on the walls of her new room.

The words of Signor Avvolta, a resident in Tarquinia, as quoted by George Dennis, give in most graphic style his experience as discoverer of a virgin tomb on the Monterozzi. His find was made accidentally when, as he was taking stones from a small tumulus, he peered underneath a slab which turned out to be part of the roof of a tomb: 'I beheld a warrior stretched on a

couch of rock, and in a few minutes I saw him vanish, as it were, under my eyes ; for, as the atmosphere entered the sepulchre, the armour, thoroughly oxydized, crumbled away into most minute particles ; so that in a short time scarcely a vestige of what I had seen was left on the couch.'

In some tombs the whole wall-space is portioned out into niches or recesses, each one of which is furnished with a shelf-like bed. In others the rock is hollowed out into coffins, each to be closed in with a flagstone. The next departure open to the wealthy was to construct a movable sarcophagus of local stone or of terra-cotta. These receptacles were nearly always elaborate ; we can now examine in the light of day some which have found their way into the museums of London, Florence, Rome, Tarquinia, and other places. Detailed descriptions of a few are given in Chapter X. The earlier types were carved into the form of a couch, and on the lid reclined in effigy the person enclosed in the chest. Very often the sides of the casket bore in low relief scenes from Etruscan life—its warfare, its feasting, its farewells. On the sarcophagi of later date Greek subjects appear more and more frequently in the reliefs, favourites being the Centaurs and the *Lapithae*, the Theban Heroes, incidents in the Trojan war. Greek fashions are displayed in the dress of the statues of the ladies. Both of these characteristics may be seen in the grandiose sarcophagus of painted marble in Florence Museum, the reliefs on the sides of which tell the story of a combat between Greeks and Amazons. Fashions followed in the posing of the figures on the lids help to date them ; for instance, the combination of reclining husband and upright wife (or *Lasa*) seems to have come in towards

the end of the fifth century, whilst the perfectly prone position is the latest to appear. The Adonis cinerary urn of painted terra-cotta from Tuscania (Vatican Museum) is a very advanced example of Greek influence on Etruscan sepulchral art of the second century B.C. The deceased is figured as Adonis, and lies in his death-agony on a draped and cushioned bed. Form and features are pure Greek ; the body is nude but for a scarf and the characteristic Etruscan boots. The realistic detail is the dog, which lies beside the couch unconcernedly attending to its toilet. In addition to the two extremely interesting sarcophagi in an upper gallery of the British Museum (pp. 137, 151) there are several of no great pretensions but useful as types stored in a room in the basement. A number of them came from Toscanella, part of a collection made by three brothers Campanari, of that town, about the middle of the last century. The following are some of the effigies borne on the covers—an *obesus etruscus* (a term applied contemptuously by Roman writers to the later, gross, and self-indulgent Etruscans) with a wreath and a crown ; a fat youth holding a *patera* ; an old woman, whose face is full of character, extended in the attitude of an *obesus etruscus*, but draped in Greek garments ; a terra-cotta chest from Vulci, on which a woman's figure lies prone ; a cover from Corneto (Tarquinia) bearing an old woman in the same position, decked out with two necklaces, heavy pendants and ear-rings and having close beside her a vase, a *thyrsus*, and a fawn.

The most extreme and at the same time the most instructive example of the *obesus etruscus* type of memorial figure is that on an alabaster sarcophagus from Chiusi, now in Florence. The gentleman's robe is so arranged that his enormous abdomen is proudly

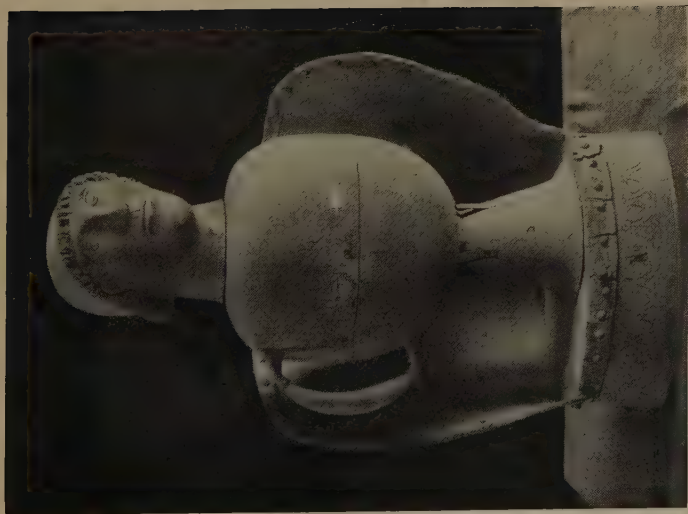
displayed ; the garland hanging over his fat chest suggests a boat's cable ; his rings are carefully flaunted on his pudgy hand. But look at his head. Flat cheeks, curved nose, squarish chin, well-moulded lips—one would say a first-rate portrait, virile, full of determination ; here shows the specialized genius of an Etruscan sculptor. Going round the museum in Tarquinia, passing from one fine sarcophagus to another, and dwelling not on the stereotyped bodies but on the individualized heads, we may find much to delight us. Partunus the priest has a beautiful polychrome casket, his age and genealogy easy to read still ; one woman's face is remarkable for its small, refined features, recalling a similar face in the Tarquinian *Tomb of the Leopards* ; in particular, very wonderful in its realism and its beauty, is the thin, deeply-wrinkled face of an old, old man, the old man whose dog-companion has laid its muzzle in its master's *patera*.

Certain districts adhered tenaciously, from first to last, to the practice of burning their dead. Of these was Volterra, where sarcophagi are rare finds, whereas the museum there contains over 400 cinerary urns, most of them made of alabaster obtained from the local quarries. They belong to the third and second centuries B.C.

Chiusi, in urns as in many other things, maintained an almost aggressive individuality. From the eighth century till the sixth she was making her extraordinary canopic jars, which, by the way, must not be confused with the canopic jars of the Egyptians, intended for the preservation of certain internal organs of the body. In the Chiusan jars were deposited the ashes of the dead, and the radical idea acted upon in making them

was that they should mimic the form of a human being, even if only a caricature was the result. We may imagine for ourselves a pottery-shop or factory in Chiusi with its rows of earthenware pots bearing queer resemblance to bodies, literally pot-bellied, like a British Museum specimen, for example, in which a pair of stiff little arms rest on the fine protuberance. Along into the shop comes a customer, chooses his jar, and gives his order for a lid. The lid is the thing. It must be a full-sized head, and it must be as good a portrait as possible of the person for whose ashes the jar is destined. Great numbers of these canopics have been found, and many are convincingly natural ; here, even in the eighth century there gaze at us the first crude attempts at that naturalistic portraiture which was the genius of Etruscan sculpture and which without a doubt inspired the Roman school of portrait-sculptors. Chiusi carried the idea still farther, for the portrait-jar was often ensconced in a comfortable arm-chair, a replica of that in which the dead man had been accustomed to sit at home. In the British Museum there is a very characteristic example ; the canopic jar is of terra-cotta, and the chair is plated with bronze sheeting embossed with floral and animal patterns.

A very striking form of cinerary urn was the full-sized hollow statue of terra-cotta or stone, and this may have come into existence stage by stage through development from the canopic jar. Several of them come from Chiusi, the home of canopics, or from Chianciana, a few miles from Chiusi. They display all degrees of finish as regards the body part, but the head is always fairly lifelike, sometimes very praiseworthy both in features and expression. The finest example is the masterpiece described on page 148. The British



CANOPIC JAR

FROM CHIUSI

(See p. 70)



BRONZE BUST

FROM THE POLLEDRARA TOMB

(See p. 136)



Museum has two. One, from Chianciana, is a very crude piece of work except for the portrait head ; the shape is barely indicated and very angular, the curves of nature being reduced to straight lines. The second is from Chiusi. In this the gentleman is seated in his chair, and chair and man are carved out of the same block of stone. There is a division about the waist-line, so that the top of the whole figure can be lifted off like a lid.

A common form of ash-chest, embodying the same idea of keeping the dead in comforting touch with the familiar things of his life, was that fashioned like a dwelling-house or a temple. Two in the Florentine Museum are models of houses (p. 125). A Chiusi urn now in London possesses an unusual feature. Extended on the roof of the building lie two watchful lions ; that notion is not uncommon, but it is rare to find present such a figure as that of the dignified *Lasa* who sits in front of and blocks up the whole entrance. In the same museum is a sixth-century urn from Chiusi, which is full of information. It is a miniature house, the cover reproducing a low-pitched, tiled roof. The subjects on the sides of the chest are very clearly portrayed ; in one case the dead person is being prepared for burial ; in two others, duels, we see the kinds of lance, shield, and helmet in use at the time ; in the fourth, a warrior is mounting his two-horse chariot—a beautifully executed bit of work—whilst a man standing in front of the horses raises his hand in a gesture of respect or farewell. In London also there is a temple-urn described fully by Dennis, together with a reconstruction of the tomb in which it was found in Bomarzo. A recess, shaped and painted with a view to giving some idea of the actual grotto has been

utilized for the reception of the burial chest, which in this instance is a full-sized sarcophagus. The ceiling presents the double slope of a house-roof, finished with ridge-beam and rafters; the wall decorations are carried out in black and red. We have in these latter no connected story—at least, none now clear to us. Plants, waves, and dolphins receive the usual conventional treatment. There are water-serpents and sea-horses, a jar out of which two snakes are rearing themselves, and several detached human heads. They formed the entourage of Vel Urinates lying in his temple-like coffin. This miniature shrine (the sarcophagus) is complete except for doorways. We see a roof-like lid, covered with tiles and furnished with antefixes of female heads; a winged sphinx sits at each end of the ridge, and in the middle two serpents, horribly realistic in their soft sinuousness, lie in interlaced coils. The sides of the coffin are covered with low reliefs—beasts of prey tearing deer, Charun with mallet and snake, and various other emblematic designs. The owner's name is inscribed on the edge of the chest. Many of the details go to prove that this sarcophagus is of a date not later than the first half of the fourth century B.C.

Multitudes of urns are mere rectangular boxes of stone which range in size from about one foot in length to half-length sarcophagi. The latter sometimes bear on the lid a stunted representation of the person's body joined to a normal-sized head. These chests are covered with designs in low relief, generally monotonous in subject and coarse in treatment. They are most numerous in the later graves, and they led on to the Roman sepulchral urns. As a general custom, Chiusi made such urns of terra-cotta or soft limestone, Perugia

of travertine which might be painted, and Volterra of alabaster ; the last group is of special value to us because so many of them are decorated with scenes from the life of the people. The British Museum possesses a few good urns of this type and a number which are extremely ugly. In its basement room there are two or three exhibits labelled *cippi*. This term is, strictly speaking, applied to monuments which served to indicate a place of burial. Those in question, however, are receptacles for the ashes of the dead, which is very unusual. The ornamentation on their sides, sometimes quite delicate and distinct, is worth detailed examination. The following subjects may be identified : mourning dancers moving to the music of the double pipes ; preparation of a corpse for burial ; soldiers and their equipment ; the revels of the banquet, with the item of the geese-like birds under the bench ; details connected with the chase, such as the spirited horses, the excellent treatment by the artists of the very active dogs, the kind of sticks used for hunting hares, the way in which the slaves carried home the game.

The grotto or hypogeum of the Volumni, about two miles south of Perugia, may be considered the show tomb for the tourist. Dennis says that it was the first he visited and that his enthusiasm for things Etruscan was roused by that visit. It is a solitary burial-place, cut out of a tufaceous hill-face. It must have served two or three generations, the last of which lingered into early Roman times ; it is regarded as belonging to the second century and the early first, before Christ. We enter it by a descent of many steps, flanked by solid rock. The entrance at the bottom was originally closed by a great stone slab which now stands beside it ; on

the doorpost are cut the names of the owners of the grave. We cross the doorstep into a house, and we halt in surprised embarrassment, for surely we are intruding on the family in the seclusion of their

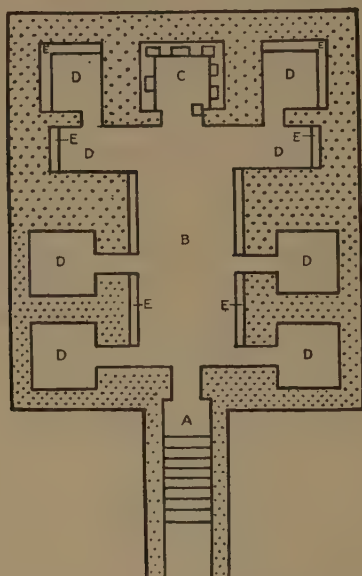


FIG. 7

PLAN OF THE TOMB OF THE VOLUMNI, PERUGIA

- A. Entrance flight of steps.
- B. *Atrium*.
- C. *Tablinum*, containing seven urns.
- D. Side-chambers, empty when tomb was opened.
- E. Benches hewn in rock.

tablinum. Pale faces, reposeful forms, gleam within the room we see in the distance. We are in the Etruscan prototype of a Roman aristocrat's dwelling; we have reached the *atrium*, and those dark openings in the side walls lead into the usual side rooms. We

advance in the cold, hard anachronism of electric light to find five more rooms at the far end. The central one of these, the *tablinum* of the villa, is the burial chamber which was actually in use. Seven very large urns are ranged round its sides. The covers of six of them are modelled in imitation of the couches on which diners reclined at meals; the diners, too, are there, listening, looking, understanding, one would vow, all that we are saying. They are first-rate pieces of memorial statuary, not so grimly realistic as earlier Etruscan work, approaching very closely the Roman in style and strongly influenced by Greek. The founder of this family tomb is the most imposing of the figures, a very majestic man indeed: he is *Arnth Velimnas Aules*. The others, four men and a woman, are kin to him. Each man wears a long, heavy garland of flowers—probably anemones—and each holds the sacrificial *patera*. The urns are of travertine, covered with applied moulded ornaments in tinted stucco. Two very beautiful *Lase* guard the door of the underworld painted on the pedestal which constitutes the ash-chest of *Arnth*. The seventh urn is different from the others in every way; it belongs to the last member of the family buried there, one who was much Romanized, it would seem. Perhaps he lived a long part of his life in Rome, had the urn for his ashes made in Roman fashion, and was carried back to the town of his ancestors only to be placed in the family sepulchre. The urn is of marble, made like a well-proportioned temple, and of course carries no effigy. Its decorative reliefs remind one of the festoons of flowers and the bulls' skulls on an altar in the Terme Museum in Rome, whilst Medusa and the Sphinx speak of Etruscan borrowings from Greece and Egypt. But the unique

value of this urn belongs to its inscription, which is bilingual—Latin and Etruscan; unfortunately it is brief, merely a statement that Publius Volumnius was the son of Aulus and Cafatia (p. 171).

Besides the family monuments there are many interesting points to be noted in this subterranean dwelling. The high-pitched roof of the spacious *atrium* (twenty-four feet by twelve) slopes down from the central ridge-beam, making the *displuvium* of Roman buildings; beam and rafters are carved out of the tufa. The ceilings of the smaller rooms are deeply coffered; the most daringly effective centre is in the *tablinum*, where a fierce Medusa glares threats at all intruders. The serpent's head, with darting tongue, thrusts itself forth from the wall in unexpected places; over the archway the dove rests on the scimitar; in one corner the owl keeps company with the snake. There is far more to be seen in this intensely interesting place, but the visitor must search out the rest for himself.

The cinerary urns of the Volumni belonged to aristocrats, but there are also available for study in Perugia scores of modest receptacles which once held the ashes of the middle-class people and the poor. The most important are in the University Museum, whilst in the modern building which encloses the entrance to the Volumni tomb there are kept together many of the relics saved from the necropolis hidden so long within the Palazzone, the hill which rises behind the tomb. These latter have had a disturbed history. Dennis gives a graphic account of the tombs on the Palazzone as he saw them about the middle of last century. The grotto of the Volumni was discovered in 1840 and the adjacent cemetery shortly afterwards. The hill-side

was found to be riddled with chamber-tombs. Dennis investigated most of them, noting the urns all still in position, the prevalence of bright colouring on their carving, the signs that many Roman families were descended from or connected with Etruscans, and the universal custom of cremation. In the course of years the tombs were emptied of their contents, which included hundreds of objects. Some went to the museum in Perugia; some were taken down into the grotto of the Volumni and set down with no regard for order within its rooms. In recent years that tomb has been cleared of all this intrusive matter, most of which is arranged, classified according to style, on the shelves of the 'Palazzone' Museum over the hypogeum. This record is all well-known history, but together with it we must correlate the surprising fact that in the works of Thomas Dempster published posthumously in 1723-4, with additions by Filippo Buonarroti (p. 226), there are illustrations—highly idealized—of cinerary urns which, if not identical with those now in the Palazzone Museum, are suspiciously like them. The Palazzone urns possess little artistic merit, but the subjects on their bas-reliefs are of interest. In one small group of them the cover of the chest bears a stunted human figure, and the reliefs represent scenes from Greek legends. By far the largest number, however, are closed by a stone slab shaped like a gabled roof of low slope. These are adorned with Etruscan and symbolical themes; banquets, *Lase*, tomb-dedications, are frequently chosen, and there may be noted one curious scene in which two warriors are standing beside the arched doorway of Hades from which a griffin is emerging. There are many variants of the gorgon's head, the griffin, Scylla, and the

hippocampus. One decorative detail which is almost peculiar to this district is that of two crescent-shaped shields placed in reverse. Taking the collection of urns as a whole, we get an impression that most of them came from general shop stock, but here and there we get enjoyment from masterly little bits of execution and attempts at imaginative interpretation; very charming, for instance, are the busts of a warrior, a youthful face deep in thought, and a flute-player.

The rectangular urns in the University Museum have come from various local sepulchres. They constitute excellent material for studying the transition from Etruscan to Roman characters, both in decoration and inscriptions. Amongst them, several are of individual distinction. For example, there is a fine sense of strength in the *Lasa* who is holding in leash two straining panthers, and in an Aurora guiding swift-rushing horses. On one urn front appears a symbolic door leading into the next life, half open, the key in the lock; in another a hole has been pierced in the lid and one in the base, conveniences for pouring in libations of wine. Two of the monuments are of exceptional interest. In the first place, they are both described and pictured (very elaborately) in the Dempster-Buonarroti books. Secondly, the subjects and execution of their sculptured reliefs are striking. In one, two men are exerting themselves to hold down a monster—a wolf-headed man—who is breaking out from a well and who has grasped one man's wrist. The other scene is even more suggestive: there, two naked male figures wrestle together, crudely simple but infused with a *terribilità* of muscular force which makes us think at once of Michelangelo's unfinished

creations as they wrench their limbs free from their marble prison-beds.¹

That the graves of the Etruscans form wonderfully comprehensive archives of their national history will have become clear through the illustrative examples we have studied. We may summarize now what conclusions we feel justified in drawing from the facts thus ascertained.

We see, in the first instance, in the Villanovan cemeteries, a people who invariably practised cremation. Their conquerors, the Tyrrheni, introduced their mixed customs of cremation and inhumation, with preponderance of inhumation. For many centuries the two practices were carried on, until in the second century cremation again became more frequent, to merge finally into the adoption of it by the Romans. At all periods we find local burial prejudices in evidence. A case in point is Tarquinia. Whilst she, in the fifth and fourth centuries, was painting pictures on the walls of her sepulchres, Caere was hewing sculptures out of the rock or covering it with stuccoes, and Chiusi was building a vaulted roof of masonry for her little *Tomba del Granduca*.

The material collected from the graves enables us to trace a well-marked sequence in the trading connexions with foreign countries. The rich art and craft contents of the eighth- and seventh-century graves at Vetulonia, Caere, Praeneste, and other places indicate copious traffic in Cypro-Phoenician and, to a less extent, in Egyptian wares. The paintings of the sixth century at Tarquinia are evidence of the growing trade with Ionic ports, to which is added, a little later, Attic Greek. Before the end of the fifth century it is plain

¹ These statues are in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence.

that decay has set in, and the tomb-artist ceases to be original, contenting himself with perverted copies of Greek things he had seen or heard of.

A chapter which is to follow will give some idea of what the graves have told about those industries in which certain cities specialized—e.g. Chiusi in bucchero and Vulci in painted pottery—as well as about the changes which manifested themselves in some of the art-work, as in the case of the gold jewellery—exquisitely delicate in the seventh century, heavily pretentious in the third.

No feature of tomb development, however, is so astonishing or so difficult to explain with certainty as the perversion of spirit expressed by the frescoes ; it must be the manifestation of a deep-seated revolution which took place in the souls of the people. One fundamental difference between the narrative content of the earliest pictures and that of the later is that the former, on the surface at least, bear no reference at all to the future life ; they are filled with the doings of this life. On the contrary, as the nation grows older its uneasy speculation about the fate which awaits the dead becomes more and more pronounced. In the early, hopeful days of vigorous national expansion not even the grave could chill men in their gay exuberance of anticipation. But fear crept into their hearts, and grew strong. The unknown became full of weird terrors, and the ill-willed beings lying in wait in the shadows took shapes of hideous reality.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION AND POLITICS

RELIGION and politics were inseparable in Etruscan State-economy; the man who was the prince-ruler of a city was also its high priest and its judge. Of these offices that of priest was paramount, for all public functions and many private ones had to be carried out in strict accordance with ceremonial laws prescribed by the gods. It will be well then to learn first of all something about the Etruscan gods and their attitude towards men. What is known has been gathered together from Etruscan monuments and their inscriptions, as well as from the works—more or less trustworthy—of Latin writers.

There were divinities celestial, terrestrial, and infernal. Nine operated in the high heavens, and of these *Tinia* (Jupiter), *Uni* (Juno), and *Menrva* (Minerva) formed the supreme triad. Every member of the celestial group was entitled to wield a thunderbolt, and *Tinia* had three at his disposal. Most of the Greek and Roman gods had an Etruscan equivalent, and in addition there were some who were purely Etruscan. *Maris* was Mars, *Sethlans* was Vulcan (the protector of Perugia), *Nortia* (Fortuna) was a local deity and favoured Bolsena. A second triad, of non-celestial character, had great power. Concerning these we know that *Eita* or *Mantus*, *Phersipnai* or *Mania* and another not identified correspond to Hades (Roman, *Liber*), Persephone (Roman, *Libera*) and Demeter (Roman, *Ceres*).

Remarkable reality is imparted to our knowledge

of the two great triads by the fact that we are aware of the exact sites of temples in which they were worshipped, and also know something of the appearance of the temples. Imperial Rome gave glory to great Jove in his temple on the Capitoline hill, but the plan of this temple was a repetition of one of Etruscan design, built during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus the last Etruscan king of Rome, and dedicated in 509 B.C. (or 510 B.C.). It was tripartite, its three cells being sacred to the celestial trinity. Another temple in triplicate, dedicated to Ceres, Liber, and Libera, was built at the end of the fifth century in Rome on the spot occupied later by the Circus Maximus; this was in existence at the time of the Augustan Vitruvius.

This same Vitruvius, in a treatise on architecture, quoted full particulars of the building laws as laid down for Etruscan temples. The original meaning of the terms involved is interesting: the building itself was designated the *capitolium*, and its precincts, the *templum*. The tripartite buildings consisted of a pillared portico in front, and, at the rear, three parallel chambers for the divinities, the central and largest belonging to Jupiter. They were never of any great size, and in some of the smaller there was only one cell. The Etruscan certainly did not learn his temple-building from the Greek; and in those years when Greece was realizing in marble her glorious ideals, and when Etruria was assimilating some elements of Greek culture, the archaic Etruscan temples were retained unaltered; only in the latest centuries was an attempt made to follow the lead of Greece in external decoration. Not until the fourth century were Etruscan temples built of stone; previous to that only the

foundations were of stone, the framework and the roof were of timber, the pillars of wood or unburnt brick, and the external coating of terra-cotta. Of terra-cotta also were the mouldings and the statuary, which grew more and more abundant; the whole

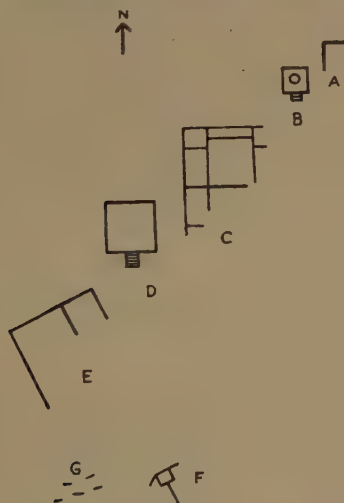


FIG. 8

TEMPLES AND ALTARS OF MARZABOTTO

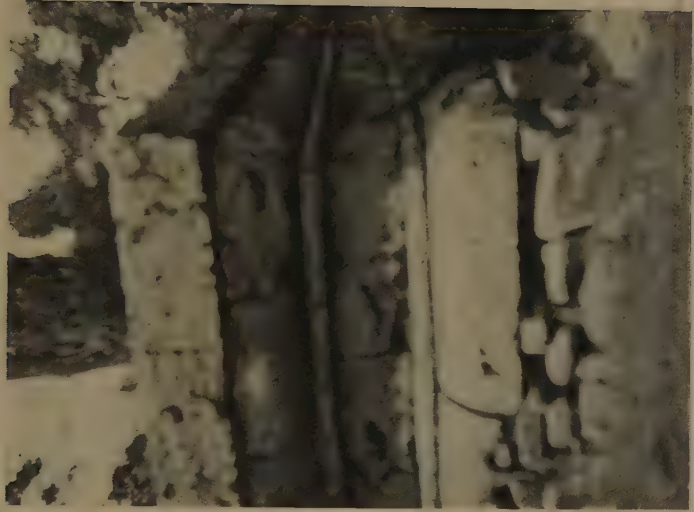
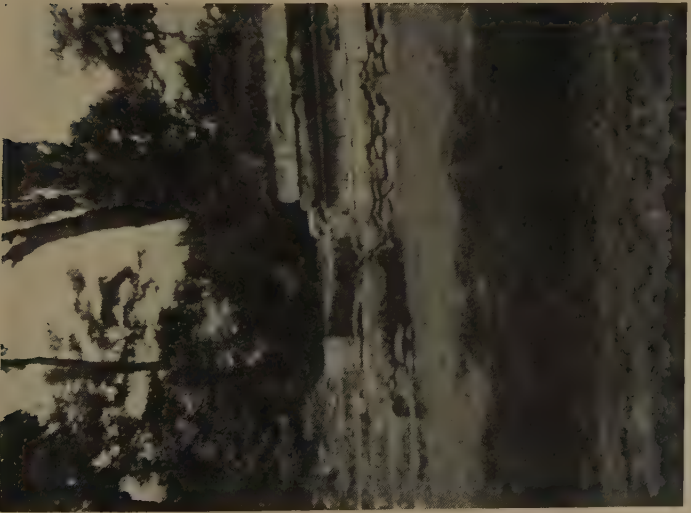
- A. C. E. Remains of temples.
- B. D. Remains of altars.
- F. Fountain, with remains of conduits.
- G. Graves of Gauls.

glowed with rich, strong colours. There is an extensive collection of these temple terra-cottas in the Villa Giulia in Rome, where also is a model—inaccurate in several respects—of a temple.

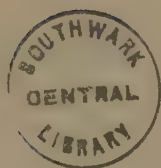
Remains of the foundations of three-celled temples exist at Orvieto, Florence, Fiesole, and elsewhere. The temples and altars of Marzabotto lie enfolded in the

shady silences of Count Aria's villa-park, carefully tended and guarded from sacrilegious interference. They are grouped close together, three temples and two altar-bases. Taking them in the order shown in the plan—*A* is a single-celled temple, *C* and *E* are triple-celled ; *B* was probably the altar belonging to *C*, and *D* that belonging to *E*. Of *A* the remains are scanty. Temple *C* is the best preserved, more than half of its foundation structures being undisturbed, its chambers and pillared portico quite easy to identify. By comparison with the dimensions of Etruscan temples given by Vitruvius it must have been even lower and heavier in its appearance than the standard type. As in the other buildings grouped with it, the opening faced the south. The portions of three rooms which are left in temple *E* show that it must have been considerably larger than *C*.

The altar-bases are even more arresting than the temples. The dimensions of *B*, as given by Ducati, are : 4·20 m. by 4·20 m. in area and ·90 m. in height. It is built of water-worn pebbles from the river gravel, its angles being strengthened by hewn sandstone. Three steps lead up to the level surface, in the centre of which is a circular opening 0·44m. in diameter. What an acute experience it must have been for those who first uncovered this sacred monument, mounted its steps, and looked down the well-like throat. For this was the place of sacrifice to the infernal gods, to Liber, Libera, and Ceres, and the hole was the *mundus*, the way set apart for gods and for shades of the dead to come forth at certain times and roam about the world of the living. On three nights each year, *dies nefasti* of the Romans, the covering stone or *lapis manalis* was removed from the hole ; men did well on



ETRUSCAN ALTAR-BASE, MARZABOTTO



these nights to keep within their dwellings. In practising such rites the Etruscans were doubtless preserving traditions which had come down from ancestors of pre-Hellenic time and of Mycenaean lands ; in turn they handed them on to Roman successors. The well-cavity in this altar at Marzabotto is 6.50 m. deep, and widens out funnel-wise at the bottom to nearly two metres in diameter ; it is lined throughout with uncemented stones. Heaped together within it were found the bones of the sacrificial victims. The altar is placed very close to temple *A*, but in all likelihood belonged to temple *C*, which would thus be sacred to the underworld triad of divinities.

Altar *D* is one of the most precious of Etruscan memorials, one of the rarest relics of early religions. Its very size impresses us—9.20 m. by 9.10 m. and 1.15 m. in height. The eye moves with appreciation over the harmonious whole, the just and severe proportions, the flight of broad, low steps, and the strong sculptural mouldings of the constructional blocks of stone. The temple architect has cherished in his building the austerity of the rock he has taken from the sombre hills ; he has given to it deep and sweeping curves and sharply-jutting edges ; he has kept it free from petty disturbing details. This must have been the altar belonging to temple *E*, the sanctuary where the celestial three—*Tinia*, *Uni*, and *Menrva*—were placated with sacrifices, appealed to with hymns of supplication and adoration.

Those who visit this spot where Etruscans worshipped their gods 2,400 years ago, and who bring to it minds responsive to the whispering voices of the old stones, will find it a place of enthrallment from which it will be difficult to part.

[Most peculiarly Etruscan of all the gods, and most deeply enshrouded in mystery was *Velthurna* (Latinized into Vertumnus or Voltumnus), the god whose worship formed the strongest bond of union between the twelve States of the Federation. His sanctuary occupied a central position in the country, very possibly at Montefiascone on the shore of Lake Bolsena. As the Greek turned to Delphi, so to this religious focus turned the thoughts of all good Etruscans. Velthurna must have been in some sense a god of vegetation, and the annual festival in his honour would be celebrated either in spring or in autumn. Then, from every corner of the land crowds converged on the *Fanum Voltumnae*. Every State sent priestly delegates and also athletes to compete in the games, whilst foreign countries sent their traders, for this was an event of a composite character—a time when a chosen arch-priest led the united homage in the temple, when social entertainments brought together many friends, when much bargaining was done in rare commodities. Ranking above all other functions in practical importance would be the meeting of a central council for the discussion of political affairs common to all the States of the League.

Many more gods there were, and many semi-gods. Of the former, *Fufluns* meant Bacchus, *Turms*, Mercury, and *Turan*, Venus; conspicuous amongst the latter were the two terrible infernal spirits, *Charun* and *Tuchulcha*, whom we have met with already in the sepulchres. In the lower regions dwelt many *demoni*, male and female, some benignant, others malignant. Of these, the *Lase* were winged female spirits, often represented nude except for shoes, a necklace, and a tiara; they acted as messengers between world and world. The mallet or the double-headed axe for

Charun, the torch, the biographical scroll (the *rotolo*), and the *alabastron* or funeral oil-jar for the *Lase*, the serpent as a universal attendant, were common attributes of the *demoni*.

The religious doctrines of the Etruscans were thoroughly systematized, and the commands of the gods were embodied in an elaborately meticulous code of laws which were communicated directly by the immortals themselves. These laws governed every phase of national life. Two ambassadors of the gods now wear the picturesque garments of ancient myths. The scene of the first little story was a field in which a Tarquinian ploughman was at work. Suddenly there popped up from the furrow into the sunshine an imperative little creature, in stature and countenance a boy, but venerable in wisdom and breathing authority. The peasant was bidden to stop and listen. Then *Tages*, the boy, sang to him. And in his verses he gave the gift of knowledge for the people, all the fateful precepts of divination by which the will of the gods could be ascertained through omens visible in the viscera of the victims sacrificed to them. Many instructions too were added for the guidance of the dead in their new life and for the deification of their souls. His message delivered, *Tages* went away ; but his words remained a law in the land until the nation died, and after that the Roman took them.

Like a second Etruscan Moses was the law-giving nymph *Vecu* (*Begoë* or *Vegoë*) who haunted the country round Clusium. *Vecu* disclosed her weighty message to *Arnth Ultimne*. She made men wise in the interpretation of the thunderbolts and she transmitted to them the ' laws of limitations ', according to which should be laid out the boundaries of fields, cities, and temples.

No doubt it was really by degrees that there was built up that code of statutes which governed the whole polity of the nation and which was universally accepted by the city-states composing it—the famous ‘*Etruscan discipline*’. At some quite late date the laws were written down, and it is believed that in the middle of the first century B.C. they were translated into Latin. The Romans were so impressed by them that they incorporated many in the Constitution of Rome, and we are told that Roman patrician boys were sent into Etruria to be trained in the ‘*Discipline*’.

We are indebted to Cicero for much of our information concerning the books of laws. There were three sets of them—the *libri haruspici*, the *libri fulgurales*, and the *libri rituales*.

The *libri haruspici* explained how the gods made known their wishes or opinions through signs shown in the entrails of animals sacrificed, more particularly in the liver of the sheep or the calf. This was a custom which was practised in Chaldaea and which spread thence to the north and west in Asia. Some very curious evidence of its range has come to light. In northern Etruria itself was found the remarkable bronze *fegato* (liver) now in the museum at Piacenza; Chaldaea has yielded two very similar models, but of clay, and in the capital of the Hittite empire was found another, also of clay. The information conveyed by the Piacenza *fegato* is even more valuable to us than it would be to the young *haruspex* for whose education it was devised. Its upper surface reproduces the natural features of a liver, the level part of it being divided up into sixteen compartments, within which are inscribed the names of gods and goddesses. On the rounded under surface of the bronze (the upper

surface of a liver) were inscribed two names—*usil*, which meant 'the sun', and *tiv*, 'the moon'. This simple model is a synopsis of the widest range of Etruscan superstition. It is a miniature chart of the starry heavens where every divinity had his or her own fixed domain, or *templum*. In precisely the same way was the surface of the earth apportioned. Further, in the laying out of their cities as a network of intersecting streets grouped round two main streets which ran from north to south and from east to west, the Etruscans were aiming at carrying to still another stage the regionalism of the sky. The idea was even applied to the bodies of animals and to man as an individual, and here we have the point of connexion with the liver. By reference to a code handed down from one *haruspex* to another, any peculiarity which was manifest in any region on a liver (the symbolic *templum*) could be interpreted by reference to the will of the deity who ruled in the corresponding section of the sky. These bronze and clay livers were models used by the teachers who had the training of young priests.

The *libri fulgurales* contained all the directions which related to the thunderbolts, the weapons of the nine celestials—how to treat objects struck by them, the significance of the blow in each case, how to divert them against an enemy, and so on. Thunderstorms often rage with excessive violence round the Italian hills; to the primitive mind their booming menace and their lances of death were the manifestations of an outraged god. Well might Perugia, where on eight consecutive days we may listen to the thunder resounding amongst the peaks of the Apennines and watch the lightning shoot in fierce zigzags from cloud to earth, seek safety in its Etruscan lifetime by adopting for its

especial adoration *Sethlans*, the god of fire. Never, until one looks on Perugia's old arch at midnight, in one of those hours when sheets of silent fire are blazing through the depths of black sky, does one realize what repressed vitality is pent up within its stones. By day, to us it is lifeless, expressionless. By day, it is the harbourage of the ancient people who made it; they look out from their dark holes, shrinkingly, on the bewildering traffic which circulates in the road below. At dead of night, when the storm raves, they creep out for a little while—spirits from the *mundus*. The voices of the thunders call them, the voices of their gods.

The *libri rituales* had some guidance to offer for every occasion in the life of an individual and of the State. One book informed man and informed the nation what span of years had been allotted to them, whilst another—'the book of the dead'—gave advice concerning the world to come. A third taught men how to read the meaning of signs and wonders in nature—the earthquake, the comet, the cries and flight and feeding of birds. There were included also the many definite and intricate rules to be observed in founding a city, as regards the preparations for its walls, the marking out of its streets and gates, the building of its altars and sanctuaries. Agricultural operations had to be carried out according to a procedure which, judged by results, must have been soundly scientific. The books also contained laws dividing the city populations into tribes and providing for the establishment of a military system.

The outline given above suggests a hard-cast religious organization, comprehensive and penetrating, demanding unquestioning obedience, but lacking any spirit of devotion or idealization. It was a tremendous political

machine, and it put almost absolute power into the hands of those who controlled it—the priests, who were also the princes. The priesthood seems to have specialized ; the *haruspices* interpreted the signs seen in the entrails of animals, the *fulguratores* understood the voice of thunder, whilst the *augures* studied the behaviour of birds. Of course the priests could make the messages revealed to them coincide with their own desires, so that with the small company of these priestly nobles lay the most serious decisions, touching property rights, extension of colonization, peace and war.

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We pass now to consider what kind of constitutional structure evolved under the domination of the *disciplina etrusca*. Each one of the twelve cities was the nucleus of a city-state to which was attached a varying extent of territory. The whole group of States formed a League or Confederation, the weakness of which lay in its lack of coherence and the failure to co-operate when external danger threatened individual States.

The population of a State in the early centuries of the nation's existence was, pretty certainly, grouped in three classes : first, the small, patrician, governing class who were exclusively the descendants of the original Tyrrheni ; second, a class which had the same standing as the Roman ' clients ', who attached themselves to patrician families and who may have been recruited from the native, dispossessed Italians ; third, the slaves, captured in war or bought from dealers.

It is probable that at first each State was ruled by a king, but by the end of the fifth century kings were rare, and the usual form of government was an oligarchy controlled by the highest nobles, the ' Princes ' of the

Romans, the *Lucumones* of the Etruscans. It was the *Lucumones* who acted as priests, dispensed justice, led the army. It was they who went as representatives to the annual assembly of the federated States at the sanctuary of Voltumna.

The triple division of the people was modified as generations passed on. There grew up, alongside the republican idea, a middle class of burghers who were engaged in trade, craftwork, etc. Then the national decadence characteristic of the fourth and third centuries, when the families of the warrior priests had grown luxurious and lazy, saw the rise in power of other classes. The number of 'freedmen'—those released from servitude of any degree by their masters—increased with every generation, till at last they constituted a regularly organized body. They grew powerful enough to assert themselves against their superiors in rank ; and, as a particular case, we know that the nobles of Volsinii begged help from Rome to subdue the serfs who had driven them out of their city.

The army was a well-disciplined body consisting of the princes, fighting on horseback or in chariots (which they introduced into Italy), and the foot-soldiers, drawn mainly from the natives. The military equipment was at first thoroughly Asiatic, i.e. pre-Hellenic, introduced by the Tyrrheni ; gradually it became assimilated to the Greek. We learn about it from gravestones, *situlae*, such as that of Certosa, and from various other sources. On the seventh century stele of *Aule Pheluske* (in Florence) is engraved the figure of a warrior wearing a Corinthian helmet and carrying a round shield and a double-headed axe—all typical of the East. From that region also came the short,

curved swords and the daggers with triangular blades. The helmets they had worn in life were used by the Villanovans as covers for their biconical ash-urns.

A very interesting military procession winds round the Certosa *situla* (p. 101). It is led by two horsemen and includes groups of foot-soldiers variously accoutred ; some are armed with long lances, some with single axes ; some bear round shields, some oval such as the Umbri used, some rectangular which might have come from the eastern Alps. Their helmets too are varied—crested Corinthian, plain conical, and a curious form breaking out into big knobs all round. Several examples of helmets are to be seen in the British Museum, including some resembling the noted trophy from Olympia (p. 209). The completeness with which the Etruscans eventually adopted the Greek war outfit is shown by the statue of Mars found in Todi and now in Rome. Amongst the small bronzes in the British Museum are several delightful little statuettes which tell the same tale. Most likely they stand simply for soldiers ; some of them belonged to the Falterona find (p. 104) and were votive offerings. One in especial of these Falterona warriors is a lovely bit of work—cuirass and helmet exquisitely embossed, limbs finely modelled, face very expressive.

CHAPTER VII

AGRICULTURE AND METAL-WORKING

THE Tyrrhene pioneer was no doubt a practical man and was prepared to work. Having made a beginning which must have included the annexation of a few native *Umbri* who would slave at his bidding, he found that his efforts brought in to him usurer's returns. So the first-comers laboured and prospered. No doubt the foundation of their wealth was metal, and indeed they had been lured overseas by the copper and the iron concerning which they had heard such extravagant stories. They found the *Umbri* (Villanovans) working the Tuscan mines, which yielded much copper, some tin and lead and silver ; they found too that these men were already first-rate craftsmen in bronze and that they were ready to adapt themselves to new methods and new materials. But it was in iron that the great fortunes were made. Elba, whilst furnishing some copper, was famous for iron, and soon the Tyrrheni had smelting furnaces going on the mainland just across from that island, and the town of Populonia grew up in connexion with them.

Raw metal was in huge demand all round the Mediterranean, and, as might be expected, the exports of ore from Etruria became very heavy. In course of time the Etruscans constructed their own trading vessels ; for building them there was abundance of suitable timber on the hills, and for manning them there were the conquered people, who showed themselves adaptable to seamanship. From beginnings of this character there developed those fleets which were

to be met with in every Mediterranean port and some of which acquired a thoroughly bad name as pirates. Etruria's commercial intercourse was at first chiefly with Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt ; gradually it was transferred to Greece and the Ionian coasts and islands. The trade routes over the Alps connected Italy with the markets of central and northern Europe, and great traffic passed by way of them.

The Tyrrheni brought with them from Asia age-old wisdom about agriculture, and they soon found the need for applying it even in this land of promise, with its gentle climate, luxuriance of growth, and rich soils compounded of the varied residues of sandstone, shale, limestone, and volcanic rocks. The drainage of the land was often extremely defective ; many rivers flowed for long distances down very slight gradients over the plains, whilst others were destructive torrents during the rainy seasons. Thus there came about the flooding of wide areas, the silting-up of river-courses, the formation of extensive marshes, and, as a consequence, the prevalence of deadly malaria. The Tuscany of that day must have shown a vastly greater extent of forest, both on the plains and on the mountain slopes, than there is now, and a far greater proportion of this would consist of heavy, dark pine-woods.

The Etruscan well deserved the fame he enjoyed as an engineer, especially in the hydraulic branch of the profession. He drained the swamps, cut more effective outlets for the lakes, and banked up rivers. Remains of two remarkable feats of this kind are to be seen in the tunnel-like water-channel called the Ponte Sodo at Veii and in the emissary which was made to regulate the outflow from Lake Burano. The long, level, coastal plain of the Maremma became under his

persuasion a fair land of vineyards, olive groves, and grain-fields ; the unhealthy vale of the Chiana, in which stands Chiusi, was drained of its surplus water so skilfully that it could be, and was, converted into a veritable garden. The extent to which these and other instances of agricultural success had depended on unremitting scientific care was manifested directly Roman rule displaced Etruscan, and Roman lack of interest and judgement left nature to its own devices again. For many hundreds of years immense tracts of Italy lay untilled and uninhabitable ; now another scientific era has taken up their reclamation. The laws of agriculture which the nymph *Vecu* gave to *Arnth Ultimne* must have been inspirations worthy of gods.

The money used by the Etruscans in their trading, both external and internal, consisted until near the end of the fifth century of shapeless lumps of metal, generally bronze, their value determined by their weight. This was the *aes rude*. Then there came into use, no doubt suggested by Greek practice, coined money of gold and silver, as well as shaped pieces of copper and bronze. The coined money, for a long time, bore designs only on one side—the gorgon's head, various deities, monsters like the hippocampus, etc. Money figured on both sides came later, but nothing Etruscan ever approached the beauty of Greek coins. Money bearing a civic stamp was issued by different towns, e.g. Populonia, Vetulonia, Volterra. The British Museum possesses a very fine collection of Etruscan money.

In the profession of medicine the Etruscans were eminent, according to ancient writers. Their medical skill was based partly on their knowledge of the properties of herbs and partly on their discovery of



CHIMAERA, FROM AREZZO



the value of the thermal springs of Tuscany in curing certain disorders. They were dentists also, and many a set of teeth treated with bindings of gold has been found in the graves ; for example, the lower jaw-bone of a lady of Populonia which is now in the Florence Museum.

There is overwhelming evidence that the Etruscans were master-craftsmen in all the metals—bronze, iron, silver, and gold. Very fine work is found in quite early graves, work which represents the industry of more than one generation. No doubt throughout more than a century clever artificers from abroad were arriving in the country in little companies. By these, in various centres, craft schools were established and were very rapidly raised to eminence. Native art was often influenced from abroad, for the Etruscans had a genius for absorbing new ideas. First, Mesopotamian-Egyptian ; later, Greek culture was incorporated in Etruscan art, though always the artist contrived to instil into it some of the essence of his own national spirit.

The *Umbri* were moderately expert in ironwork, but the graves show that they must have learnt quickly from the Tyrrheni, who were adepts. From the graves, particularly from the 'circle' graves at Vetulonia, there have been recovered lavish quantities of wrought iron—weapons, horses' harness, portions of chariots, etc.

The bare enumeration of all the uses to which bronze was put would be too lengthy to attempt. A few of the finest pieces of work, taken in their order of importance, are all that can be noticed here.

The grandest of the bronze masterpieces form part of the treasures in the Florence Museum ; they include

the Orator, the Minerva, and the Chimaera. The Orator, found near Lake Trasimene, is a life-size statue, a splendid proof of the powerful originality of the Etruscan who made it. The Speaker (the *Arringatore*) is delivering his oration, face serious and intellectual, arm raised in a gesture of emphasis ; the pose is one of finely balanced dignity. The Etruscan tunic and *tebennos* (toga) are exactly like those worn by an early Roman, and the statue might stand for any of them ; it is a marvellous forecast of Roman portrait-statues. A long inscription on the hem of the robe intimates that this is Aulus Metellus, son of Vesia. Ducati places the statue in the second century B.C. ; Randall-MacIver thinks it dates from about 300 B.C.

The Minerva may be a fourth-century copy of a Greek work of the fifth century B.C. The original must have come from the hands of one of the master-sculptors of Greece, and we may well rejoice that through Etruscan agency the knowledge of it has been preserved for us.

The Chimaera, three-souled brute, is a terrific conception ; the lion-body strains to hardness its cord-like muscles, the lion-mouth roars defiance ; the serpent-tail ends in a threatening head of concentrated venom ; the goat, wounded by the spear of Bellerophon, shows already—wonderful touch of the artist—a little of the lassitude of death. The Chimaera was found at Arezzo in 1553, but recent research proves that it had already been unearthed in the twelfth or thirteenth century and buried again owing to the terror with which it filled its discoverers. In Buonarroti's additions to Dempster's work (published in 1723-4) there is an illustration of the Chimaera showing it without the tail, which was a later restoration.

The famous Capitoline wolf, suckling the Roman twins, is almost certainly Etruscan of the fifth century B.C. ; the children are, with much probability, assigned to the second half of the fifteenth century A.D. It is now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome ; a monkish chronicler of the tenth century says it was at that time in the Lateran. Archaic though it is in the stiffness of some of its features it is yet surprisingly full of feeling. The rigid fore-limbs, the tensely outstretched neck, and the fiercely alert head, speak of the mother strung up to defend her nurslings ; but the hind-quarters of this wild creature—they are soft with the relaxed suavity of the nursing mother. The head is a fine example of the cleverness with which Etruscan art represented the muzzles of animals.

A fourth-century statue of Mars, found at Todi, now in the Vatican collection, recalls Greek art of the fourth century B.C. Also in the Vatican are two out of the three statuettes of nude children belonging to the Hellenistic period in art. New York possesses the only fairly complete bronze chariot which has been found ; it is very fine. There is another in London ; in this the original bronze plates have been mounted on a modern backing of wood ; the iron tires are modern, and also some of the bronze. The handle of a whip was found near the car. The American chariot came from Monteleone di Spoleto, and the London one from near Orvieto.

The most perfectly artistic amongst the host of smaller bronze objects is Cortona's much-prized lamp, in which design and workmanship are alike beautiful. In the centre is the bowl for oil which feeds sixteen little lamps ranged round the rim, each one fashioned alternately as a satyr or a siren. The under-side is

covered with bands of ornament, wild beasts carrying on their combats round Medusa's horrid head. Think of this treasure being found, as it was, in a ditch by the roadside. The plate bearing an Etruscan inscription which is now attached to the lamp did not belong to it originally, and is of considerably later date.

Caere and Vetulonia were renowned for their cauldrons of hammered bronze, and Vulci for its artistic tripods; their work was coveted even by the Greeks. The most elegantly proportioned of the existing tripods, from Vulci (now in the Vatican), is ornamented very finely; Silenus is introduced frequently into the design, and there are two vividly realistic groups of one lion tearing a deer and another a bull. Conspicuous among tomb-furniture are candelabra and incense-burners; whilst so well represented is every kind of kitchen utensil and table requisite—bowls, filters, vases, jugs—that, when we add the bronze chairs, tables, and beds, we can reconstruct pretty completely the furnishing of an Etruscan home. Florence and other museums have in their collections bronze helmets, body armour, shields and spears—all accurate in modelling and often choicely decorated. Bronze as well as iron was used for horses' harness.

Candelabra serving their original purpose as candlesticks, as well as others adapted for lamp-stands, must have been in use in the houses and in the tombs. It is believed that the Etruscans invented candles; at the banquet of the gods in the Velii tomb (p. 62) the table is illumined by two tall three-branched candlesticks, each candle being held in the beak of a bird. The fashions in candelabra passed through several changes. In the fifth century the tall stem was surmounted by a basin for the lamp; following that shape came one in



BRONZE TRIPOD FROM VULCI

which the stem was branched at the top and small lamps were hung from the arms ; a third form was the pyramidal pedestal with stem and bowl at the top. All these types may be seen at the British Museum.

A very curious piece of bronze furniture is a *carretto*, or little carriage ; Florence shows a good example ; and another belongs to the Regolini-Galassi collection in the Vatican. The central portion consists of a small basin and spreads out at opposite sides into long, thin wings ; the whole is two or three feet in length and moves along on four wheels. It is sometimes taken to be an incense-burner, but its use is by no means certain. There is a sure and homely touch, however, about a big brazier in which lie tongs, shovel, and fire-rake.

A *situla* was a kind of bucket with a narrow base. The most famous is the Certosa *situla*, found near Bologna and preserved there. It is of bronze, covered with several bands of small reliefs, the subjects being incidents belonging to local life in the neighbourhood of Felsina (Bologna) about 500 B.C.—hence its value as an historical document. We see marching along in full equipment, with lances dipping, the different divisions of the army ; there are farming and hunting scenes, and there is a long funeral train of mourners, priests, servants, and animals for sacrifice.

Many captivating touches enlivened the designs in bronzes—a duck's head turned back on the handle of a small spoon, a cat crawling up a rod in pursuit of a cock, an indignant frog gasping under the clawed foot of a tripod, the handle of a jug formed from a youth standing on a tortoise, Dionysus dancing on a leaf and doing duty as the handle of a jar. One very athletic *motif* is part of a candelabrum in the Vatican Museum ; in this the base of the tripod is fashioned from three

gymnasts doing the backward bend and supporting on their heads a central figure.

The genius of the Etruscan artist in endowing his figures with vivacious life is shown not only in larger works but also in bronzetti limited to two or three inches in their dimensions. A pair of tiny hares, ears laid back, stretch themselves out in fine racing form ; a bronze ox with a knowing head swishes the flies from his back with a flisking tail ; finest of all, there is one splendid little composition crowning a candelabrum (in Florence), in which a youth is curbing a fiery horse, two perfect creatures matching their strength and spirit.

For the lady many pretty things were made in bronze. She had dozens of fibulae and armlets. Her mirror might be of plain polished metal (bronze or silver) ; it might have Greek mythological scenes incised or in relief on one side of it, or, later, it might have a cover of beaten bronze. A passing but apparently tyrannical fashion in Praeneste decreed that in every lady's grave there should be deposited a mirror and a *cista*. The latter was a casket, usually cylindrical, supported on three lion's paws ; the handles were formed of quaint figurines, as also was the knob by which the lid was lifted. The whole stood over a foot high and might be a foot or more in diameter. Great originality is displayed in the handles of *cistae*, the tiny figures—one, two, or three of them—being adapted for use in every imaginable attitude and combination. Women are rarely represented, though the womanly forms of *Lase* are to be found. Sometimes an acrobat makes an arch of his body, sometimes a dancer lends his graceful limbs ; two athletes may be fixed in a wrestling grip ; a lion struggles with a

man ; two mournful soldiers support as a rigid cross-bar their dead comrade. *Cistae* are not at all common (about 150 have been found) ; they come mainly from Caere and Praeneste. The rarest are those of oval shape, like that in the Vatican, the cover of which bears two birds ridden by two youthful beings. The most beautiful example discovered is the Ficoroni casket, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome, which houses the most representative collection of *cistae*. The British Museum possesses a very fine *cista* from Praeneste. The subject of the ornamental band running round the body of this casket is the sacrifice of the Trojan captives at the funeral-pyre of Patroclus ; the execution of this is masterly in its clean, bold strokes. Above the main band runs a border of twisted ivy leaves and stems, and below it a row of palmettes. On the cover three Nereids are riding on marine monsters.

Of much interest to us, and intensely admired by the Romans of the Augustan age, are the numerous miniature bronzes called by the Romans *tyrrhena sigilla*. Several museums possess charming collections, e.g. Florence, Bologna, Tarquinia, London. Many of the little works display exquisite taste and skill, are brimful of vivacity ; a dainty figure less than three inches high may be vibrating with feeling. Two of the finest examples (both in Florence) are the tragic figure of Ajax committing suicide, and the warrior of Isola di Fano, a very spruce youth in elegant array which includes his *calcei repandi*. A great majority of these minute bronzes must have been votive offerings, thanksgiving or supplicatory. Such were those in Bologna, most of which came from a sanctuary at Monte Guragazza high up in the valley of the River Reno ;

many of them resemble the Greek *korai* and *koroi*; of these, two devotees, male and female, illustrate good Etruscan art-work of the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and in dress and pose remind us very much of the Greek statues of the sixth century found on the Acropolis of Athens. In both Florence and Tarquinia we find large numbers of animals represented—pretty, life-like little things, which may have been children's toys, or may have been attached to the handles of jugs, etc. Such (in Tarquinia) are the barking dogs, the cat posing in front of a bird, the miniature ox. The British Museum owns a delightfully varied selection of these bronzetti, including a few particularly choice specimens. Perhaps the loveliest is the female figure known as Artemis, sweeping forward with left foot well advanced; as in the other statuettes of women, the thin dress falls in long folds or pleats indicated by wavy lines. The head and shoulders of the Artemis are both delicate and dignified. Amongst others which should be carefully looked for are: a man carrying a long, curved trumpet, a pretty dancing girl, Pan playing on the syrinx, Hercules wearing his lion-skin, two athletes posed in a very difficult exercise, various models of soldiers labelled Mars, figures with inscriptions on the limbs or on the dress.

A very exciting discovery of a mass of these little bronze treasures was made accidentally at a small lake on Monte Falterona, one of the peaks of the Apennines rising east of Florence. From the shores of the lake and from its bed after draining were collected objects of iron, bronze, and pottery, to the number of something like 700. From their character and from the mass of tree debris jumbled up in the mud it has been surmised that a shrine within a sacred grove was

located there. Perhaps the waters had healing properties. The votive offerings—ranging in size from two inches to a foot and a half—included statuettes of human beings and of deities, models of parts of the body, chains, fibulae, pieces of weapons, etc. Many of the London *sigilla* came from this Falterona hoard ; one more of them may be mentioned, an exquisite woman's forearm about nine inches long, which may have been a thank-offering for the curing of disease of the arm.

The Etruscans attained distinction as silversmiths. Quantities of silver-ware, of high artistic merit, came into the country from the eastern Mediterranean during the early centuries. The surfaces of the silver bowls, platters, and vases are covered with skilfully wrought scenes taken from Asiatic, Cyprian, and Egyptian life ; amongst them are farming operations, lion-hunts, and funeral processions. These lovely objects of art no doubt excited the Etruscan silversmiths to try and excel in the same medium and style. Many silver articles, imported and native, have been obtained from the seventh-century tombs, especially those at Caere and Praeneste. The Etruscan was most successful in his mirrors, *situlae*, and ivory boxes. For their adornment he employed both incised and embossed designs. The British Museum has a most interesting collection of mirrors ; the following may be sought out and studied : one of bronze from Praeneste, showing two *Lase* present at the birth of *Menrva* from the head of *Tinia* (Jupiter) ; one from Bolsena, where three babies appear each with the name of *Maris* (Mars, god of war) ; an incised mirror showing Eros running, with a flower in one hand and a lyre in the other ; one labelled ' the toilet of Helen ', in which should be noted

the small, nude, bald-headed boy on the handle, who may stand for *Tages*. Lastly there is a beautiful fifth-century piece of work, the design in low relief representing a struggle between Hercules and the marine goddess *Mlacuch*. The figures are beautifully modelled and in good preservation; the scene is enclosed in a border of palmettes. The names of the deities are attached to them. They are :

e l e c e r e

and

ch u c a l

It would be almost impossible to be too extravagant in our praise of the superb genius of the Etruscan goldsmith, when there is taken into consideration the infinite variety of his originality, the exquisite delicacy and accuracy of his technique, and the vast output of his activity. The museums of Rome, Florence, Paris, London, and Perugia have rooms which look like wholesale jewellers' stocked with Etruscan loot. And to the thousands of charming bits of gold set out there we must add the lost thousands which have disappeared in the depredations of Gauls, Romans, and medieval and modern robbers of tombs; nor should we forget the wealth which may still lie within the dark earth's keeping.

It was in the seventh century that the gold work of Etruria reached its full glory, and as far as the graves have revealed the truth to us the chief centres of the

craft were at Vetulonia, Caere, and Praeneste (in Latium). The evolution of the methods of working can be followed in the tombs at Vetulonia. Of quite peculiar beauty and most difficult in execution are the styles *a granulazione* and *a pulviscolo*, the secrets of which have never been quite mastered by modern imitators. Geometric designs, details of minute figures, are carried out in the medium of microscopic globules or dust of gold ; so fine is some of the work that a magnifying glass is needed to appreciate its beauty. Such workmanship presupposes the most accurate of instruments and the keenest of eyesight. Elegant ornaments of thin gold wire—the original filigree work—were of slightly later date than the *granulata* gold. Repoussé methods of decoration were also of much beauty, and grew in favour as the *granulata* vogue declined.

Gold ornaments of every description were worn in profusion, by men as well as women. They included rings, brooches, bracelets, diadems, breastplates, and, of very varied design and very numerous, fibulae. There cannot be conveyed in a few sentences an adequate idea of the refinement and artistry of the early gold jewellery ; one must go and pore over it in the museum cases. As typical examples we may note the following : a fairy-like but intricate vase of fine gold less than an inch high intended for a pendant or an ear-ring ; chains of delightful flexibility ; a breastplate on which are scores of miniature animals, amongst them horses every hair of whose manes is a chain of golden globules ; elaborate fibulae carrying many tiny lions and ducks, modelled in the round (the Etruscans loved little ducks). Again the British Museum furnishes illustrations of our points ; numerous simple

rings and bracelets for children, gold buttons, beautiful bracelets of thin gold laminae stamped and finished with filigree, much amber set in gold from Praeneste, a ram's head as a pendant, *bullae* of huge size, wreaths of leaves and berries ; an elaborate gold fibula from Caere, eight inches long or so, adorned with a row of lions worked in the round, the detail in granulation ; an elegant necklace of flexible gold braid hung with numerous pendants—rosettes, acorns, lotus flowers—the whole linked together with golden chains. More gaudy are some of the wreaths and necklaces and the ear-rings five inches long. Some of these last belong to the third century ; by that time the taste in jewellery had grown much less fastidious, tending rather to grandiosity. There was one beautiful neck ornament which came into general favour in this century, the torque, a rope made of twisted strands of gold wire. The torque was not peculiar to the Gauls, for the Greeks made lovely examples of it, and the early Etruscans of Vetulonia sometimes wore it.

Associated with the engraved silver vessels brought to Caere and Praeneste from Cyprus and other places were carved ivories, such as boxes, combs, tablets. The subjects adopted by the artists are sometimes Asiatic like the fights between lions and bulls, sometimes Egyptian like the sphinxes and the plants of the Nile. Etruscan workers used these importations as models and copied them, or used them as a foundation for their own inventions.

One lady who lived in Marsiliana d'Albegna at the beginning of the seventh century must have appeared in splendid attire on gala days. Her finest possessions of gold and ivory were placed with her in the tomb ; now they fill one of the cases in Florence Museum.

One of her many gold fibulae was surely the most elegant in Etruria—five inches long, a cunning design of golden balls, dainty ducks, and bold lions. She had a cylindrical ivory box covered with carving in low relief, and her ivory comb was a magnificent affair, decorated with sphinxes, lions, and griffins. With her ivories may be compared a beautifully carved ivory *situla* from Chiusi, also preserved in Florence. Perugia has a quantity of interesting jewellery, including good examples of heavy necklaces of amber and coral, as well as veined pebbles and enamelled glass used as beads, etc.

Many beautiful incised gems have been found, the most abundant being scarabs, a legacy from Egypt arriving by way of the near East. They were set as rings and also used as pendants; red cornelian was often employed for them.

CHAPTER VIII

SCULPTURE AND POTTERY

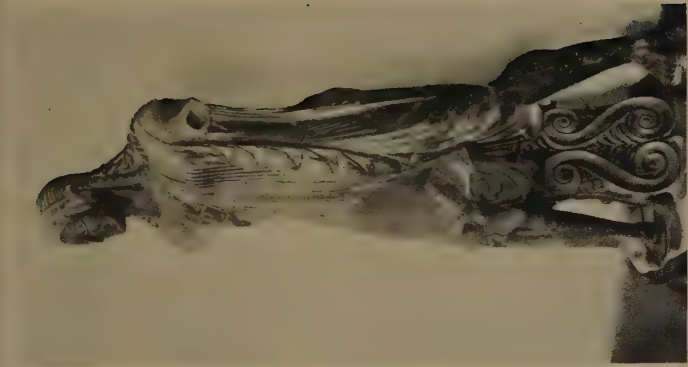
SOME of the most remarkable works of art of the Etruscans, considered artistically and technically, were the terra-cottas. We see them exemplified in the memorial statues and in sarcophagi, which, throughout the long period extending from the sixth to the second centuries inclusive, were being produced in large numbers. Descriptions of them occur in various pages of this book.

Reference has already been made to a school of sculpture for which at the end of the sixth century Veii was famous, Vulca being one of its most brilliant exponents. It was he who made the statue of Jupiter for the Capitoline temple and a Hercules for some other site in Rome. We learn from a Roman chronicler that the chariot group over the temple was also Veientine work. But incomparably the noblest terra-cotta statue which has been recovered is the Apollo, found in 1916 in the ravine outside Veii, close to the enclosure of the temple of Apollo, where it once formed part of a group along with Heracles and probably Artemis. It may be seen now in the Villa Giulia at Rome. This Apollo of the archaic visage has the fine lean trunk of the athlete in training—narrow hips, strong legs, powerful shoulders. And he *moves*; eminently, he illustrates the Etruscan artist's power to convince us of the muscular force animating his creations. This god of baked and painted clay may wear Greek drapery, may be born from the mysteries of Greek legends, but he is, nevertheless, one of the terrible gods of Etruria,



THE ORATOR

AFTER THE BRONZE STATUE FROM LAKE TRASIMERE
(See p. 98)



APOLLO

AFTER THE TERRA-COTTA STATUE FROM VEII
(See p. 110)



ruthlessly ready to kill, striding ahead on his own business, caring nothing for the welfare of mankind. Etruscan realism, not Greek idealism, is here.

The technical difficulties involved in the firing of these large terra-cotta figures must have been immense, and the pre-eminence of the Etruscan in this branch of activity has never been questioned.

Terra-cotta was used very generally in temple architecture; the finest remains of it have been collected in the Villa Giulia. London has some good fragments brought from Civit  Lavinia, and a model reconstruction of part of a building has been set up showing the positions which would be occupied by the antefixal heads, the pendant slabs, etc. Long after other branches of art were on the decline the temple terra-cottas were well conceived and well carried out. Greek influence was apparent, though retarded as compared with the stage of advancement in Greece. It was only, for instance, in the middle of the fourth century that the tympanum of a temple received decorative groups of figures. Greek artists no doubt lent a hand with these temple monuments. An interesting set of terra-cottas typical of second or first century B.C., found in the Via S. Gregorio, Rome, may be seen in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

Sculpture in stone displayed the innate Etruscan capacity for instilling life, force, character into inanimate material. Some sculptors were primitive Michelangelos. Their lions are lions, not tame cats like some of our modern street ornaments. There exists one great menacing brute hewn out of the hard volcanic rock *nenfro* which had been set to guard the tomb of the *Nevzna* family; even in a Florentine garden it can be fearsome. The troop of lions which

follow each other in line round the sides of a sarcophagus at Tarquinia are astonishing embodiments of stealthy movement, achieved in the simplest, rudest form of shallow relief on coarse stone. In the same museum, on another sarcophagus slab, appear magnificent horses, pictures of our own noble draught animals, having intelligent heads and bodies of massive, living muscle. The sphinx of Chiusi—like the lion a warden of the dead—may be rude and stiff in its Egyptian conventionality, but the sculptor has gifted it with expression : we feel that it has a mind remote, secretive, unapproachable. Then there is in the Villa Giulia a centaur of nenfro which must have come from the hands of an artist of powerful imagination.

The head of the lion and the head of the ram appear very frequently in Etruscan as they did in Ionic architectural sculpture. The ram was no doubt of sacrificial import, whilst the lion, strong and watchful, was the symbolic guardian of the tomb. Two fine examples of such heads were found in a tomb at Orvieto ; that of the ram is in the Florence Museum—there is no doubt about the bony quality of its great nose or the power of its fighting horns. The ram's head does service in many situations. On an urn from Volterra ram's heads are used as terminals for the ridge of the roof-like cover. The rams' heads on a *cippus* at Marzabotto have already been noticed. As a contrast to such massive reproductions there are small bronze figures like the one at Tarquinia, very beautiful in its minute workmanship.

Marble and alabaster were rarely used for Etruscan sculpture, and precision of execution was not easy in coarse stone like nenfro, travertine, etc. ; yet some of the effects in low-relief are surprisingly clear and well

preserved. *Cippi*, steles, urns, and sarcophagi are often decorated with narrative scenes.

The steles are memorials in the form of upright slabs of stone, bearing inscriptions and sculptured figures. Several are referred to in other pages ; of very special

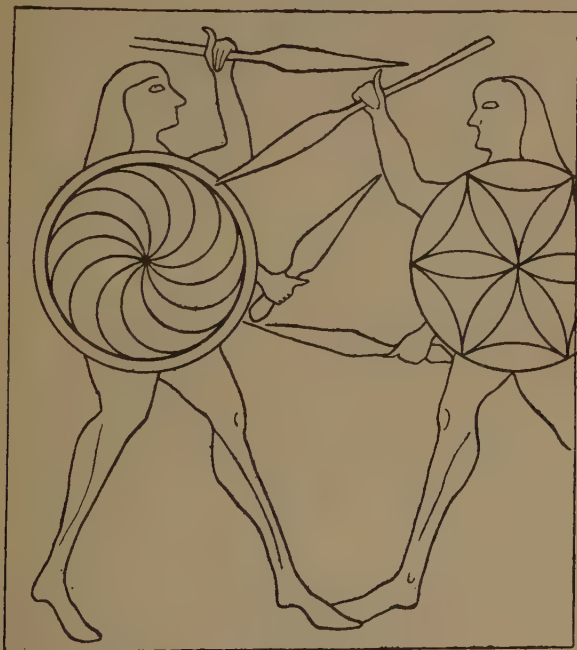


FIG. 9

STELE, FIFTH OR SIXTH CENTURY B.C. PERUGIA MUSEUM

importance are the two in Florence, of Larth Aninie and Aule Pheluske, that in Volterra of Aule Tite, and one in Perugia showing two soldiers in combat—all four archaic. The museum at Bologna possesses a unique collection of the Certosa type of stele, obtained in the

neighbourhood of the city. They vary in shape, but the commonest outline approximates to that of a horseshoe. They are covered with scenes worked in low-relief. In the best-preserved example the subjects are arranged in three zones—a serpent wounding a hippocampus, the deceased shown as a warrior in combat with a Gaul, and, most striking of all, his almost triumphant journey to the other world, erect in his *biga* drawn by winged horses, guided by a winged spirit. This departure of the dead person is a subject nearly always introduced. On another stele we see the curious incident of a child being suckled by a cow. On a third appear many details of interest—the curved trumpet or *lituus*, funeral games, a ship loaded with soldiers, the inscription which says that this is the tomb of Vele Cecina.

Cippi are monuments which assume many forms according to district and period; they were placed over burial-mounds and over sepulchral chests. Many of great size came from the territory round Felsina, and can be seen at Marzabotto and Bologna. A favourite form here is the pine-cone, one of which is three feet high; another is simply an enormous stone sphere placed on a cubical base; a third, finely sculptured with rams' heads, is mentioned on page 32. In the district round Chiusi *cippi* were made from soft limestone and were elaborately and often delicately carved. One unusual specimen is made in two parts; the upper section, from which the conical apex has been broken away, is the usual cubical mass of stone; the rectangular base is hollowed out and contained the vase for the ashes of the deceased. In Perugia there are some very interesting *cippi*; some exemplify other uses to which such monuments were put. By far the

most important is the slab referred to on page 170 ; this is covered with an inscription to which many scholars have devoted their attention. Another had been used to mark off a boundary ; it bears the signatures of the two priest-magistrates who had presided at the ceremonies prescribed for the fixing of ' limitations '. Another *cippus*, not Perugian, has inscribed on it the words ' *tular rasnal* ', of which *tular* means boundary and *rasnal* refers to the name which the Tyrrheni applied to themselves (p. 190), thus suggesting that the stone had been set up on the frontier between Etruria and another State. Perugia possesses two beautiful memorial *cippi* of rectangular form, on the sides of which are neatly sculptured groups of musicians and mourning dancers. Another *cippus* in the same collection must have crowned an important tumulus. It consists of a wide, low cylindrical base, on which stands a slender fluted column terminating in a design of acanthus foliage. Round the base is cut in shallow relief—not more than one-eighth of an inch deep—a series of scenes connected with funeral rites. Mourners are approaching the bier, with both hands raised to the head in gestures of lamentation, whilst the adoration of others who stand before an altar is expressed by the raising of one arm. Amongst the many figures represented are two men who carry each a ritual staff. An inscription is painted within one of the grooves of the pillar. In the museum at Florence are two *cippi* of high artistic merit. The first is the head of a warrior the cheek pieces of whose helmet almost cover his face ; this, placed on a decorated column, formed the finish to the top of a tomb at Orvieto. The second is to be found in the garden of the museum serving, as it originally did, as the apex of a

tumulus. It is a vigorous piece of sculpture. A low cone surmounts a quadrangular pedestal ; four lions, rampant, constitute the angles of the pedestal.

A little more may be added to what has already been said about pictorial art in the tomb frescoes. During the early centuries, when Etruscan art was an expression of the artist's own vitality, before he fell under the glamour of the Greek and tried to imitate him, he produced something eminently fine in his realistic sculpture and his vivid frescoes. These pictures, which fill with life the death-chambers, are remarkable for the sense of movement which pervades them ; we can see and feel the characteristic response of every muscle to the commands of its governing mind. The leopard creeps sinuously ; the dog hurls itself ahead. The birds in the garden settle on the slender branches with a gentle tremolo of wings, but the sea-birds shoot downwards, spear-like, into the waters after their prey, or dash hither and thither in a confusion of consternation under man's provocation. The stillness of the reveller is the quietude of relaxing muscle, whilst in the agility of the athlete we see muscle tense in its readiness, swift and precise in its purposeful contraction. In the dancing pictures more particularly we are swept into a whirlpool of emotional movement. There is one dashing figure of a piper who strides along with garment streaming behind like the swinging kilt of a Highland soldier ; in this the painter has painted for us the very wind. In the later artistic work of the Etruscans there are recognizable two changes to be mentioned here. First, in trying to imitate the statuesque idealized repose of the Greek, the Etruscan succeeds in producing only the stony negations we see on the lids of late sarcophagi. On the other hand, the

innate tendency which urges him to keep his figures alive and moving degenerates into restlessness and contorted violence, as seen in the crowded groups of struggling figures on some of the urns and in the terra-cottas filling the tympani of the temples.

Immense quantities of every kind of pottery still exist, from the rudest Villanovan work, perfectly plain or bearing geometric ornament, to the most graceful



FIG. 10

DETAIL FROM VASE OF, PROBABLY, EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.
GEOMETRIC REPRESENTATION OF HUMAN FIGURE. DOTTED
FIGURES REPRESENT BLACK, PLAIN, RED, ON VASE

imitations of Greek shapes adorned with Etruscan conceptions of Greek mythology. The student of collections of pottery may have trouble in discriminating amongst the output from three possible sources : pure Greek imports, articles made on Italian soil by Greek settlers, and those made by Etruscans who had learnt from Greeks or who had copied Greek models.

The earliest pottery was hand-made and was incised with simple straight-lined patterns, purely geometric in style. A sign of advance was the introduction of floral and animal forms. A most quaint transitional attempt appears in a vase found near Bolsena, and now

in Florence. It is still geometrical, but the artist has tried to bring the human figure into his scheme. The greater part of the body of the vase is covered with geometrical patterns in red and black on a pale ground. Near the base is placed a narrow zone filled with little men and women, touching hands, in alternate groups of three, the men coloured black and the women red ; it is either a procession or a dance. The drawing is the drawing of the infant school ; the body of each tiny figure is made from two triangles placed apex to apex, the head is a rounded knob, the limbs are sticks.

Chiusi must have been well known in the ancient world for two specialities. At a very early date it took to making the urns destined for the ashes of the dead in the form of pottery jars ; these, in the first instance, were made personal by having a bronze or pottery mask of the deceased attached to them. Then the jar itself was made into a grotesque (in our eyes) model of the person's body, and fitted with a lid which was an attempt at a portrait—often surprisingly life-like—of his head. These jars were the famous *canopics*, purely Etruscan in every sense, owing nothing to Cyprus, Phoenicia, or Greece. Such a jar had often as a pedestal a chair of earthenware or bronze. The imitative canopic jar was replaced in course of time by the hollow, full-sized, or nearly full-sized, statue of terra-cotta, alabaster, or sandstone. The Chiusi and adjacent rooms in the museum at Florence possess a wealth of material by means of which we may study the different phases of this form of burial. Several of the most important monuments there are noticed elsewhere, but one or two more may be indicated. There is one extremely crude canopic jar the bulbous head of which has only one developed feature—an absurd little

nose ; another commemorates a warrior of defiant aspect equipped with earthenware imitations of sword and shield ; a third belongs to a lady whose spiral metal ear-rings are fixed in terra-cotta ears. Mimicry of home-life has its extreme representation in the case of the gentleman whose portrait-urn not only sits on its chair, but who had placed in front of him his bronze table, together with all he might need in the way of jars, basins, etc. A very early cinerary urn of red pottery, from Volterra, has decorations worth noticing ; on the lid two men sit at a table furnished for a meal, whilst on one handle sits another person. The Primoli ossuary is a very famous example, probably belonging to the seventh century. It bears on its cover the oldest authentic image of *Thuftha*, the goddess of the dead and of night. The back of her mantle is adorned with stars, and she wears on her breast the scarab symbolic of resurrection.

Then Chiusi was by far the most important centre for the manufacture of black bucchero ware, which attained very noble distinction in style. There is a splendid roomful of it in Florence, belonging mainly to the seventh and sixth centuries ; many of even the simplest of these vases are entirely satisfying in their strong outlines and bold, well-balanced simplicity of ornament. Most museums contain some pieces of bucchero pottery. Its peculiar rich black colour was obtained by baking it in a slow-burning fire, a plan still practised by some West African tribes. The smoke permeates the body of the clay, the heat never being great enough to burn out all the carbon. The Etruscans took care that the clay which was used contained manganese, which enhanced the effect of the smoke. The British Museum has an instructive

collection of bucchero pottery. Its ornamentation may be of the incised type or in relief ; the little friezes of figures are made by rolling a cylinder stamp over the surface. There are simple patterns of lines and dots ; there is a variety of animal life, the favourites being lions, sphinxes, and birds ; there are tiny processions of human beings on the sides of the cups.

The Greek vases, etc., which came into Etruria in such quantities from the sixth century onwards were greatly prized and were widely imitated by native potters. The quality of Etruscan vase-making was affected by the general decadence, but there was a noteworthy revival in the fourth century, the chief centre being Falerii. The museum of the Villa Giulia contains a great series of vases found in and near Falerii ; they suggest Greek work of the best period, but are inscribed in the Faliscan dialect. Amongst them is a superb *amphora* which Ducati considers represents the apex of the ceramic production of Falerii. On the body of this vase are represented two Greek myths—Aurora carrying off Cephalus in her car, and Thetis surprised by Peleus—whilst Etruscan subjects appear in other parts of the decorations.

Vulci shone brilliantly in the Etruscan art world, specializing in painted vases. The number discovered runs to thousands, and the average merit is very high. Rare here, and almost lacking elsewhere, are painted vases which are perfectly pure Etruscan in form and decoration. On the other hand, large numbers are not Etruscan at all, but are Attic imports. The bulk fall between these two extremes. Some were no doubt made by Greeks who lived at Vulci, some by Etruscans trained by those Greeks or inspired by Greek models. The variety amongst the vases is infinite ; outline,

colouring, subjects, may all show Greek touches ; a large proportion of them are supremely beautiful. Amongst the British Museum painted pottery (much from Vulci) may be mentioned the great *amphorae* or jars in which wine, water, and oil were preserved ; the *krater*, in which wine and water were mixed together ; the *rhyton*, a quaint drinking-cup shaped in part like an animal's head ; the *askos*, originally meant for a perfume or ointment jar, imitative at first of a leather bottle, but later often a fantastic figure of a bird. The colour scheme in the vases may be black on pale red, red on black, pale biscuit on black, or dark tints on pale biscuit. Greek subjects and Greek treatment of course preponderate ; Pegasos is very frequently introduced. On one big *amphora* there is a procession, in which appear boxers, flute-players, dwarfs, giants, a man climbing a pole. This should be compared with the paintings on the walls of the Monkey Tomb at Chiusi. On a *phiale*, or saucer-like drinking vessel, there is an inscription in good Etruscan lettering. It is of curious interest because in reality it is in the old Umbrian tongue, and is taken from the Eugubian Tables of Gubbio ; it reads from left to right.

About the beginning of the third century potters began to adopt the inartistic idea of using for their work in clay designs which had been intended to be worked out in metal ; this gave to the pottery vases, etc., decorations in high-relief, often very ugly. Perugia, in the Volumni Museum, can show one great ornate vase of this stamp.

In the second and first centuries B.C., Arezzo was well known for the production which is now called Arretine ware. It was, at its most distinctive period, coral-red, highly glazed, and often ornamented in bold

relief. The maker's name or that of the owner of the factory was signed on the base of each piece ; the name was often Greek or Roman.

Quite recently sensational finds of Greek pottery were made on an Adriatic site amongst the marshes near Comaccio, in the region where Spina is supposed to have stood. Much of the treasure is exceedingly fine work of the best Greek period—*amphoras*, *hydrias*, *kraters*, all now stored away in Bologna. Over 500 graves, only a part of the cemetery, have been opened.

In many minor industries the Etruscans busied themselves. We do not usually think of them as a nation of shoemakers, but it is a fact that various Greek writers refer to their renown as makers of sandals. These sandals were exported in large quantities and were particularly well liked in Greece. Some forms of them were extraordinarily durable ; in fact, one could imagine a pair lasting a man for his lifetime. They were fashioned from wood and bronze, the wood being encased in a bronze sole. The whole was given some flexibility by being hinged across the middle of the foot. The sole was studded with nails ; in one small-sized pair found at Marzabotto the nails are well over an inch long. Leather straps served as fastenings. A well-preserved pair, showing both wood and metal, may be seen in the Vatican Museum ; they are what Dennis called clogs.

CHAPTER IX

HOMES AND HOME LIFE

CAN we conjure up for ourselves a picture of this intriguing people as they went in and out following their daily occupations? Such a vision would change with the generations, and we may most profitably fix our attention on the fifth-century phase of it, that being the time for which we possess the most numerous scraps of information likely to be useful in the constructing of it.

We had a glimpse in Chapter II of an orderly town, its streets paved and drained, its side-walks wide enough for the children to play their games without being in danger from the chariots in the roadway, and its line of shops along the street-front. We see the well-to-do man dressed in tunic and *tebennos* (the original of the Roman toga), the working man in tunic only, the youth on horseback with short cloak flying from his shoulders. Men's heads were covered with a close-fitting leather cap, perhaps tipped with a spike; their footgear was the high boot or the sandal. Women walked in the dignity of long, straight under-robcs and draped mantles, both trimmed with bands of embroidery. They wore on their heads a most characteristic cap—the *tutulus*—tall and conical, resembling in astonishing degree the head-dresses of the Hittites as they are seen on figures carved on the rocks in various places in western Asia. Further, Etruscans, both men and women, followed the fashion in boots of having the toes very long and turned

upwards, which also was a custom prevailing amongst the Hittites and peoples adjacent to them.

If we are in Marzabotto or Vetulonia we walk amongst the dwellings of the poor. The way in which the houses were planned is very clearly shown in the former of these places, which, we must remember, was not one of the great cities. Its houses are grouped like workmen's tenements round a common courtyard. Can we not see the women with their bronze buckets gossiping round the well in the corner ?

The wealthy had their detached villas, and just what the exteriors of these looked like we learn from

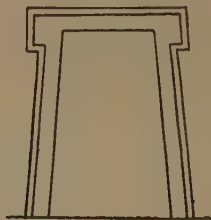


FIG. II

DOORWAY WITH MOULDING, AS SEEN WITHIN TOMBS AT CAERE AND AS ENTRANCES TO TOMBS AT BIEDA

the miniatures of them which people made in Chiusi and elsewhere as resting-places for the remains of the dead. On a bigger scale than these ash-urns we have sources of kindred character at Bieda and some other old towns, where detached masses of rock were utilized as tombs and converted externally and internally into replicas of dwelling-houses. They may contain one room or two, the inner lit by windows in the partition wall. At Bieda there are many examples of doorways, angular, narrowing upwards, and surrounded by mouldings. A tomb at Sovana is provided with an

external staircase leading to the roof. We learn from the house-urns that dwellings were built in a variety of styles. Some people liked a roof which rose in terraces, others a ridged roof having the very gentle slope which is common in Tuscany and Umbria to-day. In other cases wide eaves projected over an external loggia, which is also favoured in the modern provinces. In some houses the rain was directed outwards by the roofing, whilst others were planned so that the water passed, as it did in the Roman *compluvium*, through an opening in the roof into a basin excavated in the *atrium* or central hall. There is in Florence one sandstone urn which came from Chiusi and which represents a nobleman's house, built of massive stonework (which was unusual) and entered by a lofty round-headed doorway. If you walk from the museum a short distance through the streets to the great palace of the Strozzi you will see the medieval counterpart of the Etruscan wall and arch of this house.

The grandest houses had numerous rooms; the François tomb at Vulci has eight chambers and the Volumni at Perugia has ten, and no doubt these were simplified copies of real mansions. We may place together for comparison these great abodes and the luxurious homes uncovered in Pompeii, and at the same time trace the resemblance between the community buildings of Marzabotto and the blocks of small dwellings disclosed in industrial Ostia. The general plan is the same in the Etruscan and the Roman palaces—the entrance hall or vestibule leading into the *atrium* from which small side-rooms branch off, the *tablinum*, and the varying group of rooms adjacent to it. The Roman evidently found the Etruscan house-planning good enough to imitate; some people

believe that certain of the terms used, e.g. *atrium*, are of Etruscan origin.

It is quite likely that in some localities houses were built of stone, though none has been found. That this was not customary could not be due to lack of building skill, as the city walls prove. The framework of a house was made of wood and the walling of sun-dried bricks or terra-cotta, which was often coloured and moulded; stone was used for foundations. The general effect of the bright-coloured walls, enhanced by the many polychrome statues, must have been to make radiant the Etruscan streets steeped in Italian sunshine. The people were fond of statues, though the Roman tale of 2,000 of them being carried off as Roman booty from *Volsinii veteres* need not be taken too unsuspectingly. There do not seem to have existed any great public buildings such as theatres.

The house of the Volumni stands for the 'last word' in Etruscan domestic architecture, and by way of a contrast to it we may look back to the first Etruscan homes made on Umbrian soil. The incoming Tyrrheni found the natives living in rude little huts, mere shelters from the weather; we learn what they were like by the hut-urns provided for the dead. The Tyrrheni made their earliest homes pretty much like those of the people they dispossessed. Into our imaginary landscapes of young Etruria and of Latium we may paint tiny hamlets of those low-built huts, often circular with rounded roofs.

We may now take a look inside a nobleman's house. After Arunte the Lucumon had finished his day's duties in the court of justice or in the temple he went home to quite luxurious repose. There stood invitingly

the couch on which presently he and his wife would recline to have their evening meal ; very gay were its piles of soft cushions, and handsomely embroidered were its coverlets. The tapestries on the walls might have come in his own ships from the East, as also the rugs on the floor. An elegant table stood by the couch, the sideboard was conveniently near, and perhaps an arm-chair and footstools gave additional comfort. When evening fell the candles or the lamps were lit, and the owner's glance no doubt lingered with appreciation on the artistic slenderness of the tall, branched candlesticks or the highly wrought bronze of the lamps and their stands. If the evening loveliness enticed him he supped in the serenity of his garden. Perhaps after the meal he played a quiet game of dice or draughts, or enjoyed with his wife the gaiety of the *kottabos* (p. 150). Husband and wife were good companions and liked too to have their children around them, whilst homely touches were added when the domestic creatures wandered about under the table—cat, dog, fowl, even the tame leopard.

There were grand occasions when Arunte invited his friends to a banquet. The Etruscans are credited by some critics with being rather disgracefully fond of feasting, a supposition which is none too well proved. One can easily draw wrong conclusions from the tomb-pictures. It has to be remembered that it was of deliberate intent that the Etruscan perpetuated on the walls of his sepulchres only one side of his life—his hours of relaxation—making no mention at all of his hours of labour. Probably his festivities were no more lavish or frequent than modern celebrations.

The Etruscan feast is leisurely and mirthful, wrapt round with the soft, caressing atmosphere of Italy.

Host and guests are resplendent in their richest robes and choicest jewels; as they lie on the banqueting couches their heads and necks are often wreathed with flowers—garlands also in their hands to toy with, and garlands on the walls. They drink their wine, they pledge each other, they converse, unheeding the gliding hours. Naked slave-boys wait upon them, bringing from the kitchen substantial dishes such as we saw being prepared for the feast of the Velii (p. 62), serving cakes and eggs, wine and fruits, in vessels of bronze and silver, or even gold. And all the while the musicians and dancers pipe and whirl and snap their castanets around the tables.

There was plenty of outdoor pleasuring in Etruria, both for the strenuous and the ease-loving. It is from the frescoes (pp. 48-65) that we get most of our knowledge concerning the pageants and gymnastic games which provided public spectacles for holiday-makers. To these, man, woman, and child were free to go. At one period or another there were included most of the events which we associate with Greek athletic festivals—boxing, wrestling, running, leaping, throwing the discus, horse-racing, chariot-racing. Mixed up with these by the Etruscans might be feats of jugglery, and the buffoonery of dwarf and giant. Gladiatorial combats, which were not Greek, were included in the programme; indeed, there is a good deal of probability in the suspicion that they originated in Etruria, though Campania is as likely a candidate for the honour. The Romans of course took over the idea and enlarged upon it.

The Etruscans delighted in processions—whether in honour of the warrior dead or as a triumph for the warrior living. There is no doubt that the Romans

imitated their neighbours in this too ; in both nations a pageant included lictors, dancers, trumpeters, pipe-players, four-horse chariots, and contingents from the army.

Etruscan youths were famous horsemen, and bred horses which were considered of high value. The full-dress trappings of a horse must have made a gorgeous show, if we may judge from the quantity of bronze chains, pendants, rings, which had been stored away in the grave of the *Circle of the Trident* at Vetulonia (now in Florence).

The same young men who raced and fought were also mighty hunters. The wild boar thrived in the forests and was hunted with all the accompaniments of beaters, horses, dogs, lances, and nets. Deer were run down with leopards, brought over from Africa and trained for the chase. These hunting cats are featured in many of the frescoes ; in the *Tomba del Vecchio* each of the brutes is seen sinking his fangs in the flesh of his prey. Driving hares into nets and clubbing them was, after this, a tame sport.

In Etruria, music and the dance were considered appropriate to all sorts of occasions—everyday, feast day, funeral day. The tomb pictures are scarcely ever without some hint of them. The dancing may be the slow gestures of mourners, the frenzied licence of bacchantic revellers, or the mimic clash of Pyrrhic warriors. The music for the dance is usually that of the lyre or the double pipe, and sometimes the piper dances as he plays ; often the dancers move to the click of their own castanets. Prince and princess listen to the music of lyre and pipe as they enjoy their meals, whilst in their kitchen the servants also have their flute-player. Music provides a rhythm when the

slave is scourged, and the tedium of my lady's toilet is beguiled with sweet sounds. Flute-players accompany the huntsman, have a place in the gymnasium, are essential performers in the religious ceremony and the funeral celebrations. Whilst those just mentioned were the chief musical instruments, the country was noted all round the Mediterranean for its special kinds

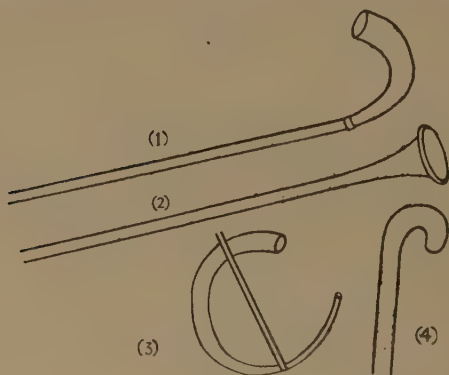


FIG. 12

1, 2, 3. ETRUSCAN TRUMPETS

1. *Lituus*, from museum specimen.
2. *Tuba*, from Roman monument.
3. *Cornu*, from tomb-painting.
4. *Lituus*, augur's rod of office, from relief on cippus.

of trumpet. These must have been made in two or three forms, one of which was the *lituus*, curved like the ceremonial wand of the priests and given the same name by the Romans, who adopted both. A fact of some importance in relation to the origin of the Etruscans is that there was in use amongst the Hittites a religious emblem having exactly the same shape as the Etruscan *lituus*.

CHAPTER X

WOMAN AND HER PLACE IN SOCIETY

CONSIDERING that in seven hundred years of Etruscan history scarcely a word about their women has been transmitted to us through the medium of Etruscan writers, whilst only a few scurrilous comments of more than doubtful foundation are contributed by Greek literature, it is surprising that we can invest them with so sure a sense of reality. Our material comes from their graves. In the series of painted chamber-tombs extending from the early sixth to the second century B.C. women are pictured as frequently as men—sometimes the luxurious lady at the banqueting table, sometimes the dancing-girl who amuses her. In other cases the lids of sarcophagi may take the form of a couch on which is placed a portrait-statue of the deceased, dressed and adorned with her richest belongings. Beside her in her grave are often found the jewels she had worn in life and the toilet-ware she had used. From various other sources we collect scraps of information which can be fitted together to make for us a picture of what she looked like and to suggest her way of living and thinking. We see little of any except the great ladies ; of the middle classes and the slaves our knowledge is of the scantiest. If we set out the evidence which has been discovered in approximately chronological order we may detect some stages in the development of women's conditions of existence.

The *eighth-century* graves are nearly silent about

women. Throughout that period and for an indefinite time previous to it the Tyrrhene pioneers were leaving their Asiatic homes for the new homeland in the West. We can imagine the bold-hearted type of woman who had a place in these boats, for it took some courage to overcome their inborn dread of the sea. All through the first hard years when her men were conquering native peoples and struggling to make fruitful unwilling Italian soils, she must have been an able helpmeet. The rude little hut-urns in which her ashes were placed are modelled on the home in which she lived. No doubt she had brought with her to Italy her most cherished bits of silver and jewellery, but life would be too harsh and strenuous to think much of finery; hence the objects found in burial-places are few—chiefly vessels of brown earthenware.

In 1927, at Ur of the Chaldees, the jewellery with which the dead Queen Šub-ad had been almost literally clothed for burial about 3500 B.C. was brought back into the world of the living. In 1836, in a desolate tract near Cerveteri, two Italian seekers after Etruscan treasure stood in amazement before the sumptuous ornaments in which had been arrayed an Etruscan princess of the *seventh century* B.C. An irregular, ill-defined tumulus of stupendous dimensions had attracted the attention of the arch-priest Regolini and General Galassi, and after several attempts they found the entrance leading into its interior. The opening in itself was of interest, being constructed according to the primitive style of arch-building, by placing horizontal stones so that they projected more and more into the door space the higher they lay, the curve being hewn out of the stones. Through this doorway, along

a similarly vaulted passage sixty feet long, the explorers passed, breaking into darkness and silence that had been undisturbed for long centuries. At last they stood in a chamber—the home in which had been left for eternity a great *Lucumon* of Caere. What a breath-taking shock they must have experienced. The mighty noble had returned to his elemental dust, but the senseless things he had prized seemed to be watching from their places these strange intruders. Almost as with a voice the bronze bed told of the vanished sleeper ; beside it, ready for him, stood table and censer, shield and arrows ; ranged round the walls were more shields of bronze ; the remains of two-wheeled and four-wheeled chariots lay near the door ; magnificently wrought bronze cauldrons evidenced wealth and taste. A warrior prince had lain there.

But the prince had shared his mausoleum with another, perhaps with the partner of his life. Making their way through a doorway partly walled up the explorers entered a second room, and again they were thrilled with messages that had been secreted there through a long tale of years. On the ground lay strewn a profusion of wrought gold. Here was a treasure which called for reverent handling ; necklace, crown and breastplate, ear-ring, armlet and brooch, lay as they had dropped away from the mouldering beauty of a princess. The woman-form had vanished. Loving hands had decked her body, loving hands had hung round the walls the elegant silver cups (p. 105) and jugs, the bronze utensils which she had used in her home. We know her name : she was *Larthia*. Three of her silver bowls—perhaps gift-bowls—bore the inscription ‘*Larthia*’, or ‘*Mi Larthia*’, which means either ‘*I am of Larthia*’ or ‘*This is Larthia’s*’.

Amongst her nineteen fibulae are two which are superb examples of craftsmanship in gold ; how she must have loved their exquisite delicacy, the tiny fragile ducklings consorting quaintly with the bold winged lions, the fine flexibility of golden wire, the patterns traced in dust of gold ; how proud too she must have been when she acquired some of the more new-fashioned ornaments in repoussé work. Her gold and silver would have stocked a shop. We realize how overflowing must have been the wealth of Caere, and indeed of Etruria, by this time, when such prodigal portions of it could be buried for ever as is the case in this and many other graves which have been discovered. Larthia could see around her some of the sources of this prosperity. All round Caere stretched fertile land made fruitful by drainage and clever husbandry. On the west, a few miles distant, lay the Tyrrhene sea. Many a time the lady must have looked from Caere's high walls at the vessels coming in from Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Greece, bringing cargoes which made her glow with anticipation—painted vases of unguents and perfumes, carved ivories, dyed stuffs for her robes, and patterned tapestries. Perhaps one of them brought her that precious silver bowl engraved all round with scenes of Eastern lion-hunts and parading Eastern armies. From Carthage also the ships would come, and tombs which have been opened quite recently amongst the ruins of that city tell us something of the habits of the Carthaginian ladies contemporary with Larthia. Here are some of their possessions : hair-pins, pencils for darkening the eyebrows, boxes of rouge and powder, perfume bottles. In company with these objects was found a pair of magnifying spectacles.



GOLD JEWELLERY FROM CAERE

There is no collection from which one can acquire so comprehensive and accurate an idea of the noble Etruscan's conception of tomb-furnishing as that set out in one large room of the Gregorian Museum in the Vatican ; it comprises all the contents of the Regolini-Galassi tomb. To study there is the next best privilege to having seen the things in their places in the tumulus. A reconstruction has been carried out of the large wagon-like car probably used to convey the dead man to his grave ; the scraps of figured bronze plates have been fitted on a new wooden framework, and the iron rims of the wheels set in place. The same has been done for the *biga* and for the arm-chair. The bronze bedstead, its lattice-work curiously modern, is complete even to the raised head-rest. Nearly a dozen handsomely embossed shields are displayed. The magnificent *lebetes* (cauldrons) on their iron tripods, and the five-foot high incense-burner are surprising for both size and workmanship, whilst the small bronze basin on its wheeled carriage is still a puzzle as regards its use. One case contains the two-score or so of rude earthenware figurines which may have stood for household gods ; another is filled with plates, bowls, jugs, of silver, silver-gilt, and bronze, together with dice, a small box, a tiny lion and sphinx—all of carved ivory. In the most wonderful display case of all repose the treasures of Larthia's jewel-box—the breastplate, the rings and fibulae and pendants, the armlets of choice filigree, the collars of gold, the medallions of gold and amber, the spangles which had been sewn thick on her robes, most resplendent of all the fibula showing no less than twelve inches by nine of the craftwork of the goldsmith.

To Rome we must go to see Larthia's pretty things,

but those of us who cannot go there may see in the British Museum some of the belongings of two other Etruscan ladies of this century, who were buried in what has been called the *Tomb of Isis* or the *Polledrara Tomb*, in the necropolis of Vulci. The most striking object is a portrait-bust (presumably) of one of the ladies. Impressively ugly she is ; impressive also is her vitality. Perhaps she really was handsome but the ancient sculptor failed in justice to her. The bust is made in the archaic style of bronze working, from thin, hammered plates riveted together ; its pedestal is covered with bands of figures—lions, sphinxes, etc. The lady is extremely *décolletée*, her substitute for a bodice being a necklace. One long, tight-curled ringlet is brought forward over each shoulder, and probably the gold frontlet found in her tomb had been the final touch on her *coiffure*. A massive countenance—almost oblong—a thick, thick neck, an enormous chin, wide-spreading nostrils, a long slit of a mouth, were really not coquettish enough to match the gilded bird which Dennis says she held out to him. She seems to have lost her bird.

In the Isis tomb was buried a second lady. Representing her was found a marble statue about three feet high which gives an excellent idea of the dress of the century. It was very simple—a long, straight gown, covered with a mantle nearly as long. The overdress was open in front and slit up the sides, so that it covered only the upper arm and hung down in front as two narrow panels ; two beautiful clasps seem to fasten it at the waist in front, or belonged to a girdle underneath. The feet were shod with sandals. She wore no jewellery. Her hair must have been magnificent, which is a common feature in the representations

of women. The main mass of it hangs in many braids down this lady's back, whilst two long curls are taken round to the front on either side ; a flat cap fits closely on the skull. It is a somewhat curious fact that of these two ladies now resting in the British Museum after dwelling in various abodes it is this one who carries what may be Dennis's bird.

Many of the articles found in this tomb were of Egyptian design though of Etruscan workmanship. Amongst them were incense-burners, tripods, plates, vases, and one ivory spoon, whilst very distinctive were the six ostrich eggs covered with painted or incised designs of winged sphinxes, etc. One of the scarabs of Egyptian porcelain proved to be of rare historical importance as furnishing an approximate date, for it bore the cartouche of the Egyptian ruler Psammetichos I (666-612 B.C.).

The Ionic influence in Caere grew more and more pronounced during the *sixth century* B.C. ; Greek traders and Greek craftsmen settled in the community, and the quick-witted, skilful-fingered Etruscans learned from them new styles for furniture, vases, and jewellery. To the ladies were introduced new fashions in dress ; more beautiful and more varied became their articles of luxury, in particular their scarabs and their engraved mirrors. They have now as their setting the ' grand ' period of Etruscan political and artistic supremacy.

Two sarcophagi of terra-cotta, found in Caere, are peculiarly instructive examples of the mingling of Etruscan and Ionian elements. One of these is in the British Museum, and both the full-sized figures resting on the lid and the scenes in low-relief which appear on all sides of the chest are worth examining closely. The

statues represent a husband and wife—the former naked, the latter fully clothed ; they lie on a loose coverlet which, like their cushions, is decorated with tassels. Their countenances are of the sharp-featured type of the early centuries, their bodies are long and lithe. The natural portraiture aimed at here is an Etruscan not a Greek quality, though the woman's dress reminds us of the Greek. She wears a thin white *chiton* caught together on the upper arm with loops and buttons, and a *himation* of heavy, dark material draped round the lower part of her body. Thin, toeless stockings are visible under the strappings which bind her sandals in place ; the incised patterns which indicate the stockings reach only about five inches above the ankle, just above the last band of the sandals, which consist merely of a flat, flexible sole fastened on with straps. The lady's necklace is of a form then common, a chain from which hang many large pendants, whilst the holes in her ears show that she was accustomed to wear equally heavy ear-rings. Her hair is arranged in the usual thick plaits, hanging free, with little clusters of curls in front of the ears ; a simple diadem binds the brows. Very alert and playful is her pose, alongside her responsively vivacious spouse.

In the scene sculptured on the front of the sarcophagus is depicted a combat between two warriors, several women being spectators. The details of the dress are very well preserved ; the robes hang straight to the ankles, where they are finished off with a wide band of embroidery. The over-dress is a mantle or wide scarf draped over the shoulders and falling in points at the front. The scene at the back shows a man and a woman on a festal couch, in a room well provided with many kinds of utensils and ornaments.

On the panel at one end of the chest we see soldiers carrying round shields departing for battle and bidding farewell to their women ; on the other is shown a scene of mourning. The sarcophagus rests on four sphinxes placed under the corners. Altogether this is a very striking monument, but it must be stated that there are grave suspicions as to its authenticity in its present form. There is no doubt about the fact that it has been restored and repainted in modern times, and at least one expert is convinced that the complete nudity of the man, the pose of the figures, and some details in the bas-reliefs supply evidence that ancient fragments have been mixed with later and put together according to the fancy of restorers. The inscription is a fake ; its first few letters are a crude imitation of the writing on a lamina of gold found at Chiusi, whilst the rest is a meaningless jumble.

The second sarcophagus, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome, is more refined and dignified. The married pair on the cover constitute a picture of affectionate tranquillity, half-sitting, half-lying on their well-cushioned couch. It is the sarcophagus itself which is fashioned into the semblance of a bench ; it is very elegant in its Greek simplicity of line and its decorative reliefs—just such a couch as they had been accustomed to use in their home. Both faces are full of the placid assurance which belongs to ancestral rank, as well as of gracious friendliness ; very eloquent of protection is the husband's attitude towards the wife, one arm round her shoulder, one hand resting on her forearm. The lady's face is one of exceeding sweetness and delicacy ; she wears a plain *tutulus* (conical cap) and is dressed very modestly. Probably the couple lived about the end of the century, and one may imagine

them paying visits to that Rome where Tarquinius Superbus ruled and where an Etruscan queen may have held court. They may have seen before it was completed the Roman temple to Jupiter which owed so much to Etruscan architects and sculptors. They may have met Varco there, the famous Veientine sculptor ; perhaps they even travelled out the few miles from Rome to Veii, to see its glorious temple-statues, of which the Apollo has been preserved for us, and now occupies the room next to them in Rome.

It is in the sixth century that we begin to get information about women from the pictures on the walls of grave-chambers ; Tarquinia is the most important centre, with nearly thirty painted tombs open to view. The significance of these pictures has already been discussed (p. 53) ; it remains to select such as illustrate the subject of this chapter. The pictures in the *Tomb of the Lionesses* (Tarquinia), like others of this period, are intended to recall to the bereaved memories of a joyous past, to encourage no present sorrow, but rather lively hope for a merry future. The name of the tomb is derived from the two hunting leopards (mistaken for lionesses) which fill the tympanum on one end wall. Below them is a frieze representing a dance. Its centre is an immense wine-jar garlanded with ivy ; on one side of this stands a flute-player and on the other a lyre-player. To the right, a pair of dancers face and incite each other in a wild abandon of arms and legs ; the youth is naked, the girl wears a transparent garment which is negligible as such. Here, probably, we see professional dancers, though some consider them to be servants indulging in a side-show, because the youth holds a jug and the girl a bowl. The lady who gives a solo performance on the left, encouraging

herself with her castanets, is a contrast to this couple. Not only is her skirt a skirt, reaching to her ankles, but she has added to it a heavy blue mantle lined with red ; high boots with pointed, turned-up toes, and a conical cap complete her costume. We cannot reckon her graceful : she is stretching out in a great gymnastic stride and executing angular antics with both arms.

A family scene, eloquent of 'poetry, elegance, and wealth', as Ducati says, is painted in another Tarquinian tomb, the *Tomb of the Painted Vases*. A festal meal is being partaken of in a garden. Husband and wife, in jewelled grandeur, are reclining at table ; she is holding out a crown or garland to her companion who has a golden *patera* in his left hand. Two little girls, pleasingly dressed, sit at the end of the couch ; in their hands are garlands. A girl is playing the pipes and two naked boy-slaves are serving the table with fruit and wine.

Of the working folk we learn just a little. There is in the Villa Giulia a little bronze of two people engaged in field-work. The man is driving a pair of oxen yoked to a plough, and by his side stands a woman, very likely his wife. She is clothed in a long, straight-lined dress, over which appears to be a loose bodice, unless the effect is due to the looping up of the skirt. The waist is belted in closely.

Then the famous *situla* of Certosa (p. 101) has something to say about the people round Felsina (Bologna). In the funeral procession which winds round the *situla*, women-servants take part. We see that they carry their burdens—water-vessels, baskets, etc.—on their heads, as is commonly done in Tuscany to-day.

If we may draw conclusions from a group of tombs

at Tarquinia, luxurious living was at its climax about the beginning of the *fifth century*. The proud nobility of this proud capital city feasted and danced and hunted, spent long hours watching public spectacles of wrestling, boxing, and chariot-racing. Choice furniture, rich dresses, a superabundance of jewels, wine, hired musicians and dancers, all appear in their banquet halls. The years of this century brought for Etruria dire struggles with Gauls and Samnites and Romans, but Tarquinia pleased on. Veii was again and again at grips with Rome, Campania was lost at Capua, and at Cumae the Greeks broke the Etruscan power at sea ; but in spite of all this only very slowly was the joyous spirit of the Etruscan people stolen from them. This spirit simply radiates from the early tombs. Entering the *Tomb of the Triclinium*, we feel as if we have walked into a dance revel ; we forget that the place has housed the dead. At the far end there look from the walls those who eat and drink at the feast ; round the side-walls dance youths and maidens. Ducati considers the dancers are people of rank. Two of them supply the music—of pipe and lyre—but they too dance the while. The women are generously clad ; we guess that their dresses were of flowered muslin ; they are modishly arranged in double pleats in front, and have bands and edgings of embroidery ; the style of finish in one pair of sleeves might be matched from 1927 fashion-plates. A voluminous mantle floats around the shoulders, and boots are very conspicuous. The dancers dance with their whole bodies ; the ladies are particularly lissom and agile. They dance among the flowers and trees of a fair garden ; birds flutter in the branches, and peck at the ivy berries whilst a cat walks staidly away from the vicinity of a dancer's heels.

In the *Giustiniani Tomb* there is one gay dancing maiden who appears to arouse almost lyrical admiration in those who see her. Her first appearance to the world outside her tomb is as the frontispiece of Poulsen's book, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*. She dances like a bubble of foam, like a bit of thistledown on the breeze. She is the *bella ballerina* of George Dennis. What does he say of her? 'What spirit, what life, what nature, in this dancing-girl! Her gown of gauze or muslin floats around her in airy folds; the broad blue ribbon which binds her "bonny brown hair", and the red scarf hanging from one shoulder across her bosom, stream behind her with the rapidity of her movements; while she droops her face and raises her arm to give expression to her steps. Her other arm is akimbo, so that you might declare she was dancing the *salterella*. For spirit, ease, and grace she has no rival amongst the *ballerine* of Tarquinia. Her dress is peculiar—I remember nothing like it on painted wall or vase. It is as modern as that of her neighbours. In truth there is nothing antiquated about her; it is hard to believe she has been dancing in this tomb for some two or three and twenty centuries.'

The *Tomb of the Chariots* (*Tomba delle Bighe*) must have been one of the most richly and variously decorated, and is now the most informative in Tarquinia; it belongs to about 500 B.C. The pictures form a continuous series round the walls, arranged in two friezes. The lower is about three feet deep and its figures stand out from a dark red ground as in one form of the Attic vases; the upper is about one and a half feet wide, and is crowded with well-drawn little forms nearly a hundred in number, dark-coloured on a pale background, as in the black-figured vases. Along one wall

the wide band is filled by a feast of the usual type, and on the others by dancers. The guests are all men, and the occasion seems to be a wine-party. There is a note of wealth in the gorgeous display of gold ornaments, the handsome cushions and coverlets, the slaves, etc. One queer item, merely decorative, is that of the blue ducks under the couches. The female dancers might be modern girls in light summer frocks of a few years ago; flimsy flowered skirts swirl round them, scarves flutter from the shoulders; but boots and a wreath-bound *tutulus* disturb the modernity. One figure is peculiarly delightful and well-preserved; she is playing the double pipes, and, as is evident from the backward sweep of her frock, is dashing ahead rapidly, whilst at the same time she is twisting head and shoulders right round to play to the dancer behind her; gaiety possesses her.

The upper frieze is a treasure. More simply and directly than any other picture does it take us into the life—one phase of it—of the Etruscan people. The subject is that of public games, most likely funeral celebrations. There are boxers and wrestlers, foot-races and trick-riding, men with leaping-poles and men armed for gladiatorial combat—much that is very Greek in all this. The most important event is apparently to be a chariot race; to one *biga* the horses are being yoked, others are standing ready or moving in parade. But the unique and most precious disclosure is the grand-stand and the spectators, rich and poor of them, shown with amazing clearness. The stands are drawn on the two portions of the friezes where they meet at the corner of the chamber; they are mere platforms provided with benches. And here again is a surprise: this is a mixed company of men

and women—matron, bearded senior, beautiful young girls, eager young men. All are simply but fully clothed and are keenly interested in the display of chariots. Underneath the stands, merry and playful and not wholly absorbed in the parade, loll in attitudes of ease the men and boys of no degree, totally unembarrassed by clothing. If, as is likely, a Greek artist had a share in the making of these pictures, the nudity would disturb him no whit, but the presence of the ladies on such a public occasion ought to have scandalized him beyond speech. As rigidly sacred as any other part of his home creed was the law that at the Olympic festivals no women should have a place except the high priestess of Demeter.

In the *Tomb of the Shields* (Tarquinia), which belongs to the end of this century, there are two pleasing scenes of husband and wife at table. He is half-reclining as before, but, in this case, she is seated on a couch; they are laying an affectionate arm each on the other's shoulder. As usual the lady is dressed in a *chiton*, which covers her in seemly fashion, only neck and arms left bare; it is the man who, in those old days, displays the charms of his bust. There is evident now a great change in ladies' hairdressing; coils piled high, little curls round the ears, elaborate puffs over the brow, diadems and bands. Musicians with lyre and flute enliven one of the meals; in the other a slave refreshes her mistress with a great fan.

In the *Orco Tomb* (Tarquinia, end of fifth century) there is left, out of one ruined wall-picture, a single woman's head of most haughty beauty. She is Velia, the wife of him by whose side she rested on the couch and of whom scarcely a trace is left; the inscription above them is valuable evidence of their relationship.

Velia's is a face which is Greek in its regularity, but with the added feeling of portraiture which at that time Greek art did not cultivate. Hair half-hidden by elaborate ornaments and clustering in ringlets over her ears; fine ear-rings and double necklace; all the accoutrement befitting the noble family indicated in the inscription as being that of her husband. Velia in her tomb possesses a far softer beauty than pictorial reproductions give to her. Her ruddy chestnut hair touches her face with caresses, whilst her coronet of golden leaves rests lightly amongst it. This picture gives us another example of the association of the woman and the man on terms of equality. What a fragment of pictured loveliness to have as companion spirit, close to its side, *Tuchulcha*, one of the most horrible conceptions of demonic ugliness which the Etruscan artists ever compassed! (p. 60).

The oldest of the painted Chiusi tombs now open adds one picturesque fact to our woman's chapter; this is the *Monkey Tomb* (*Tomba della Scimmia*, middle of fifth century) situated on a hill about a mile from the city. (If I may suggest it, let the visitor mount the lane leading up that hill on foot rather than in a bullock cart.) The tomb comprises a suite of deep-sunk rooms now quite neat and tidy. The pictures, somewhat faint, are painted direct on the rock, which is unusual except in the vicinity of Chiusi. The usual games are set forth, and only two points need engage our attention here. One is the curiosity of a monkey onlooker tied to the bush on which he is perched; the tomb has been named after him. The other is the lady spectator, the person in whose honour the funeral games are being performed. She sits on a high, backless chair, facing a structure which may be a table on

which prizes would be placed, or which is an altar in the opinion of Ducati, who thinks that the dead woman may have been deified. What interests us particularly is that she sits under the shade of a business-like umbrella. Umbrellas were in use amongst Orientals from very ancient times and often as an adjunct of high rank, but they make but rare appearance in Etruscan art. There is one represented on a characteristic Felsina stele of the fourth century B.C., now in Bologna Museum. In one of the sculptured bands of ornament, the deceased, a lady of position, is shown in her chariot being conducted with some pomp into the next world ; she sits under an umbrella.

When we turn from the painted tombs to the sculptured sarcophagi and ash-chests of this century we find appearing here also the grouping in which the wife is seated at the foot of the couch on which the husband lies. An example of this type in polychrome alabaster comes from Città delle Pieve near Chiusi. The figures are obviously modelled by so unskilful a hand that we cannot trust them as giving a correct idea of Etruscan physique. The man's head has been made separately from the body, and fixed in place after the ashes had been deposited within the body. The garments worn are of the simplest ; the lady's sole ornament is a ponderous necklace of gold—her own real necklace, found in the tomb near her and now restored to her alabaster throat.

Another urn, from Chianciana, similar at first glance, displays a great innovation ; the place hitherto occupied by the wife is now filled by a winged *Lasa*, one of the spirits of the underworld who were sent to bring men down from the world of light. The figures, carried out in sandstone, are good ; both heads are

fitted loosely into the neck-openings. This urn came from a chamber-tomb and was accompanied by interesting tomb-furnishings. Amongst these was a strigil, a large receptacle placed on a stand, and a *focolare*. The use of the *focalare* has not been identified with certainty ; it may actually have been in use in the home, or it may be a tomb-model of a household piece or merely a special bit of tomb-equipment ; many examples have been found. They are made of earthenware, often of bucchero ; a kind of deep tray, having a rim four or five inches high, stands on feet, and has a piece removed from one of its long sides ; it contains an assortment of articles (real or models), such as dishes, spoons, vases. The presence of the *Lasa* at the tomb is a sign, in this instance a kindly sign, of the profound change which crept through the Etruscan's death-superstition as the centuries passed (p. 64). Every one of the early graves tells us how confident men and women were that at death they were passing on to an unseen life which at least need not be feared, which even promised bright joys as sweet as those they were leaving. Then foreboding terror crept into their creed, haunting thoughts of hostile *demoni* awaiting them. They still clung to the thought that some of these creatures might be friendly, like the being on this sarcophagus. She sits there, waiting, in Greek repose, a rather sternly noble woman-form.

A third ossuary (from Chianciana) is a hollow statue of sandstone, a mother nursing her child. To me it is a wonderful work. Its finish may be rude, its bearing rigid, its draperies hard ; but the kinship which the first sight of it instantly suggested to my mind was with Michelangelo's 'Madonna and Child' in the Lorenzo

Chapel at Florence. There is not a line of similarity, but both these women are intended to touch us with the vital function of motherhood, and it is a motherhood inwoven with godhood. The crude Etruscan image was in one sense the portrait of the dead mother ; in another it embodied the universal motherhood of *Thuftha*, the very primitive goddess who was the protectress of the dead, who was also the food-giver of the living. The unknown Etruscan sculptor and the Buonarroti both depict the strong human mother clasping her child to her breast, but these mothers have on their faces the look of remoteness which sees far off, into the time of men and the eternity of the gods.

About the Etruscan woman of the *fourth century* we learn little that is new. From the north the Gallic terror descended again and again on her and her family ; in the south, Rome wiped out every home in Veii, reduced great Caere to submission, harassed in all directions. But notwithstanding the pressure of war, a marked revival of native art arose (p. 212). The wealthy lady could gratify her taste with exquisite purchases of originals or clever copies of the Greek objects of art which had been pouring into the country for more than a generation. We know that Greek artists and workmen, and Etruscans quick to learn from them, made Praeneste (Palestrina) famous as a centre for the production of *cistae* or caskets. These were often very choice in form and decoration ; usually cylindrical, sometimes oval ; designs were incised or in relief, and frequently based on Greek legends. Dennis speaks of one *cista* in which ' were found a mirror, two broken combs of bone, two hair-pins, an ear-pick,

and two small glass vessels containing rouge'. The Greek mythical subjects appeared also on the latest mirrors, engraved with marvellous delicacy and intricacy; they were generally of bronze but sometimes of silver; probably many of them came from Praeneste. But if the lady wanted painted pottery she would look to Falerii; its vases were the most coveted—graceful and strong in shape, fascinating for the Eastern stories set forth on them so charmingly. No longer did the jewel-box show the fibula, but it contained new fashions in ear-rings, necklaces strung with amulets or pendants, coronets of golden leaves. Greek taste was in favour here also, for embossed work was superseding the old *granulata* and *filigrana*, which had become decidedly coarse in technique.

One queer detail of the home-life of the fourth century we get from a sarcophagus. Husband and wife are depicted enjoying together a game of *kottabos*. This amusement was of Greek importation, entering by way of Sicily; it was a favourite at wine-parties. One specimen of the apparatus used, found at Vetulonia, is a delightful work of fifth-century art, crowned with a dancing satyr; another from a second or first century tomb at Perugia belongs to the later phase of its use in Etruria, when it had become associated with funeral rites. The *kottabos* consisted of a tall metal rod (it might be nine feet long) supported on a spreading base varied with little bronze figures; a disk about twelve inches in diameter fixed half-way up; a small disk at the top on which stood a miniature of the god Silenus; a thin plate about three inches across, sometimes balanced on the head of the god, sometimes held in his outstretched hand. The original Greek game seems to have been played by the guests tossing the contents of

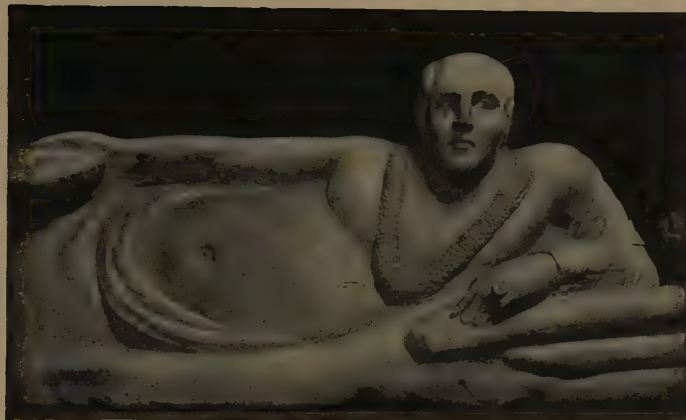
their wine-cups on this loose plate, and predicting love-fortunes from the way in which it fell on the large plate or outside it.

The woman's story as it occurs in tomb-pictures closes with the grim records in the *Tomb of the Cardinal* (Tarquinia, beginning of the *third century*, or *second* according to Van Essen). Here, in a very badly preserved frieze, is seen a procession of souls being led or dragged into the dark world by winged demons, fearsome and relentless. One woman, on foot, is trying to break back from the grip of a fiend. The chief point of interest, however, is the light two-wheeled car drawn by two of the spirits ; in it sits a woman, veiled, unresisting. It is clear that superstition had sunk into a very deep pit of horror since the days when, in Orvieto, a young *Larte* had driven down almost joyfully in his handsome horsed chariot, escorted by a benignant and beautiful spirit, to the festive hall where the gods, in company with his ancestors, were holding a welcome for him. The whole degraded death-philosophy of the decaying, feeble-hearted nation of the third and second centuries was written up on the walls of the Tomb of the Cardinal.

Various sarcophagi tell a tale of the wealthy, pampered women of the time, insipid, luxurious, living in pompous pretension ; gone now is every trace of the old independence and originality of thought and style. Were these Greek imitators, in their posturing languor, really the spouses of the *obesus etruscus* ? We may see one of them in the British Museum—*Thanunia Seianti* of Chiusi ; comparing her with the Etruscan lady who lies at the other end of the London gallery (p. 138) we see how profound have been the changes wrought

within three centuries. Thanunia's image, a massive figure clothed in voluminous draperies, rests alone on the cover of the sarcophagus in which was found her skeleton. Her dress is Greek, her hair is dressed in the most up-to-date style she knew, her face is an attempt at the idealized portraiture of Greece and is devoid of every trace of personality. Her devotion to her toilet is obvious ; in the open mirror held in one hand she watches her other hand adjusting a fold of the mantle over her head. She is burdened with jewels : great armlet, snake bracelet, necklace, diadem, heavy ear-rings, half a dozen finger-rings. Suspended on the walls of her tomb were found many silver and silver-gilt articles, amongst them a mirror and a strigil. The use to which Thanunia would put her strigil can be found out in an adjoining gallery in the museum. There, is exhibited an example of this toilet appliance to which is attached a handle of very appropriate design, for it takes the form of a lady apparently fresh from her bath who is applying her strigil to the scraping of her leg. Thanunia lived at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C.

It may be possible for us to make acquaintance also with *Larthia Seianti*. She lived near Clusium (Chiusi) in the first half of the *second century* B.C. Now her sarcophagus of painted terra-cotta, very Greek in mode, bearing her full-length statue, stands in the middle of a room in a Florentine museum. She looks around upon walls painted to imitate those in her original sepulchre. Most elegant, of latest Greek fashion, is her gown, smart red are her little shoes, and profuse is her jewellery. Her cushions are richly tasselled, and her precious mirror is in her hand. Some kindly Florentine



OBESUS ETRUSCUS
(See p. 68)



LARTHIA SEIANTI
(See p. 152)
SARCOPHAGI FROM CHIURI

has restored to her side the tray of toilet accessories which had first been placed there many centuries ago ; it still keeps all in readiness for her—comb, tweezers and girdle, unguent and perfume jars, numbers of little vases.

Of very different character is a two-figure group of terra-cotta, belonging to the *second century*, in the museum at Volterra. The bodies, as was so often the case at this time, are carelessly modelled, but the heads are masterpieces of unadorned portraiture. An old man and woman recline together, as they do in the painted scenes ; their faces are wrinkled and sunken, but strikingly expressive—hers tensely rapt in devotion to her man, his placid and confident. The group is a pleasing demonstration of the ending of a happy married life.

Also belonging to the second century (or the first, more probably) we have a tomb in which sits a Romanized Etruscan lady of high degree—the famous *Tomb of the Volumni* (p. 73). One of its seven ash-chests belongs to a lady ; her name is on the cover—*Veilia Velimnei Arnthial*, that is, Velia Volumnia, daughter of Aruntia. She has been given a special kind of statue ; whilst her men relations lie around in the *tablinum* in the old attitudes of repose, she sits erect in her cushioned chair like a Roman Empress, quite as haughty. Her long garment, with its simplicity of draping, adds to her dignity. She has more than a full share of the family pride and forcefulness ; did she learn her deportment in Rome ?

In this lightly outlined journey of ours down the ages in company with the Etruscan woman we have learnt more about her amusements than about her

labours, unless dressing herself be regarded as one of the latter. Evidently she had many slaves, and had, at least when Etruscan fortunes were flourishing, a goodly choice of entertainment—music, feasts, dancing displays, gymnastic spectacles—all shared on pretty equal terms with the men of her rank. Her last resting-place was often copied from the home she had lived in, and we see what a wide difference there was between the mud hut of the pioneer settlers and the many-roomed mansion of Velia of Perugia. The ash-chest or sarcophagus on which rested effigies of husband and wife often contained the remains of both. There is one inscription which reads: ‘This is the urn of Larte and of Cursnia the wife of Larte.’ Generally a woman’s urn was more lavishly beautified than that of a man. Certain customs connected with the burial of women are evidenced in tombs on the Banditaccia at Cerveteri. In some of the tumulus graves the women had been laid to rest on their own wooden bedsteads, brought from their homes. In one case the door of the sepulchre had had to be widened to admit the bed, and in more than one, two legs of the bed had been cut down to allow it to fit into the stone cavity. In many of the chamber-tombs a big distinction had been made between the couch allotted to the wife and that intended for the husband—both sculptured in the native rock. Hers was the larger and was shaped like a coffin, whilst his was made in imitation of a bed furnished with legs.

Whilst there exist so many records of a funeral character we have only one (and that is disputed) of a marriage ceremony. It is a relief on a broken ash-chest in the museum at Chiusi. Two men are shown holding a canopy over a man and a woman who are supposed

to be the bridal pair ; two of their attendants carry palm branches and a third supplies music from the double pipes.

Making use of facts, deduction, and imagination we may go a little way towards placing the ladies in their local and historical settings. One, whose skeleton lay undisturbed in its grave near Perugia for more than 2,000 years, must have been about six feet tall. (Many of the statues are very greatly elongated, but this may be misleading.) Her mirror and her earthenware pots were found beside her. We can fancy her walking down the *Via Vecchia*, the oldest street in Perugia, which almost certainly was an Etruscan thoroughfare, and out through the round-headed arch which still pierces the city wall. This particular lady had magnificent teeth, but that lady may have been her friend who had to visit the dentist in Perugia to have her teeth repaired, or made smart, with his thin strips of gold leaf : these teeth still keep their gold binding and are to be seen in Perugia's museum.

We are probably justified in supposing that noble families travelled about a good deal. The lady from Norchia, for example, would make shopping excursions to Tarquinia, which enticed her with all the allurements of a metropolis. Then there was sure to be frequent intercourse with Rome at certain periods in history, especially in view of the fact, disclosed by a study of genealogical tables, that there was extensive intermarriage between Romans and Etruscans. So, no doubt, Velia and Larthia journeyed up to Rome when husband or brother went there to compete at the games with his racing-chariot, which we know to have been an Etruscan practice. Above all, they would look forward to the universal pilgrimage to the

glorious spring festival, when from every city crowds were flocking to the *Fanum Voltumnae* (p. 86). What excitement and merrymaking there must have been on the sunny shores of Lake Bolsena ! What a mingling of the pomp of high religious festival with the gay greetings of reunited friends, and the bustle of eager business amongst the traders who had gathered in from many lands ! Many a choice gift or bargain the women would carry home with them—fans, ivories, silver, new-fashioned jewels, new-fashioned clothes. How they made their journeys we can only guess ; probably it was in litters borne by slaves, or in wagons or chariots. In this, as in other things, we get a hint from the graves. One scene shows a woman looking out of a litter and others sitting within a hooded wagon.

There remain to be noticed briefly two serious questions, namely, the status of women in the community, and their moral character. Undoubtedly they were honoured equally with their husbands in their homes, and we have also seen several unquestionable examples of married couples associated at feastings ; neither in Greece nor in Rome would this have been considered as possible for decent people. Women were fellow-spectators with men on the grand-stands at athletic events, which again is in great contrast to the Greek custom. So important was the mother considered that, in the genealogy of important families, her name was coupled with that of the father, and sometimes only hers was mentioned. This may be compared with the Lycian rule giving to a child its mother's name, not its father's.

A very striking fact is disclosed by an inscription which records the death of an elderly woman named Ramtha, who, married and the mother of children, had

held some kind of public office, probably that of priestess. The right to elect from amongst themselves women to fill special positions belonged to certain families. Another curious bit of evidence exists. According to traditional history, Tarquinia was named after its founder, Tarchon. On a third-century mirror is engraved the scene when the *haruspex* is examining a liver to learn the will of the gods concerning the site of the new city ; standing beside him, watching intently, are Tarchon and his wife.

The Etruscans had of course their female deities, and evolved a special genus of female *demoni* of the underworld, the *Lase* or *Parcae*. Some of these were beautiful and pitiful, some the reverse. In the museum at Perugia is a sample of the latter. She sits at the foot of the couch on which the victim she has come to fetch, drawn and wrinkled in face, is lying. Her skinny hand rests on his wrist ; she is a horror, with her beaked griffin-like nose, bulging eyeballs, and cruel mouth. One *Lasa* was a being of unique distinction ; this was *Vecu* (*Vegoë* or *Begoë*). She it was who explained to men the religious arts of the thunderbolts, and who gave the full code of laws to be observed in dividing out land, founding cities, etc.

The Greeks made grave aspersions against the conduct of Etruscan women, accusing them of senseless luxury, disregard of public decency, and habitual immorality. They bring no dependable proofs to support their case and some of their accusations come with a strange accent in view of their own practices. Sometimes it is clear that they were transferring to the account of the Etruscans habits which belonged to the Lydians ; often it is equally clear that they are both ignorant and spiteful. They were particularly shocked

at the idea of a man and a woman sharing the same couch at entertainments—a gross display of indecency, they said. It is perfectly evident, however, in many instances (pp. 141, 145), that the people concerned were of high rank and respectability; the custom was general in Lydia and Lycia. Another false statement was that the tables were served by naked women; these servants were really naked boy-slaves.

CHAPTER XI

ETRUSCAN CHILDREN

IT seems particularly sacrilegious to prowl amongst tombs to seek for relics of little children. Only by doing so, however, can we learn something of the way in which they played and learnt their lessons in the cities on the hills, as well as of the way their parents took thought for their needs in the little graves outside those cities.

There are some sweet pictures of childhood in the tomb-frescoes and in the carvings on the sides of urns. In the *Tomb of the Painted Vases* at Tarquinia (p. 141) one scene represents a rich family having supper in the garden; father and mother are lingering over their wine, whilst at the foot of the dining-couch a boy and a girl are entertaining each other. The boy has one arm round his sister's shoulder and in one hand flutters a dove, which appears to have been a common pet. Under the couch is seen another child's companion, a dog. The boy in this picture is naked, the girl is very simply dressed; the young slave who waits at table is also nude. With this household scene may be compared another, in which two small girls figure. These maidens are elegantly robed, wear jewels, and are holding garlands in their hands. Then in a third picture we have already seen (p. 62) seven-year-old Vel Leinies in the hall of feasting in Avernus, waiting for the coming of his relative, the youth in the chariot, and looking now much older than seven in his long white tunic. Two episodes in the processional picture on the wall of the *Tomba del Cardinale* have for their

subjects the child at the moment when it is taken away from this world. In one of them the mother is seated with her baby on her knee, and the messenger of the gods, whose arms are outstretched to take the little one, is a kindly *Lasa*. In the other, two demons, one good, one bad, are striving for the possession of a small child, beside whom stands a winged spirit of about the same size.

The dress of both boys and girls seems to have consisted of plain straight garments, sometimes showing shoulder fastenings, sometimes caught into folds at the waist by a girdle. The boys wore a special garb when officiating along with the priests. No doubt the children were shod at times with the light sandals that consisted merely of a leather sole bound on with thongs. They certainly possessed heavy sandals made of wood and metal (p. 122). In the museum of the Villa Giulia there is an example of a sandal fixed to the foot of a boy's statue; and in the same collection are the fragments of a pair of child's sandals, including even bits of the straps that had kept them on his little feet. At Marzabotto we find another pair, substantial enough for adventuring down by the Reno when the weather was doing its worst; nailed all round they are with long broad-headed nails that must have required a sole an inch and a half thick.

The little people had their jewellery. We come across many pretty samples of it—of bronze, semi-precious stones, and gold; it includes rings, fibulae, bracelets, ear-rings, and necklets, some of them plain and inexpensive, others exquisitely wrought. Even baby had its brooch, its wee, wee ring, and its ear-rings made of bits of twisted wire. Many of the thousands of delightful miniature objects—the animals, tiny jugs,

etc.—must have been children's playthings. What shrills of delight would break out when somebody put into a little palm a pet lamb, a cunning cat, or a dog which barked ! What parties the small girl could give with her midget drinking-cups, fruit-plates, and wine-jars !

Here and there, in picture and sculpture and bronze, there are indications of close and loving relationship between parents and children. Some instances have already been noticed, and one more may be referred to. It is part of a beautiful bronze candelabrum of the late sixth or early fifth century, preserved at Bologna. The crowning touch of this work of art is a group consisting of a mother holding her young son close to her side in an attitude of affectionate protection.

The Etruscan mother swathed her baby round and round with wrappings till it looked like a plump pillow, the very double of one of those *bambini* of della Robbia who smile down on us from the portico of the Hospital of the Innocents in Florence. In the museum at Volterra there is a headless marble statue of a dignified woman clasping a baby in her arms ; she herself wears voluminous draperies, whilst the child is rolled up tightly in its swaddling clothes. A search in the rooms of the Villa Giulia rewards us with some captivating babies—whether human or divine does not matter much. Two statuettes of terra-cotta came from a temple of Mater Matuta, a goddess specially interested in the advent of babies. In one case the infant's head as well as its body is enveloped in veilings, so that only its chubby face is visible. The other group may very appropriately represent two parents offering thanks for their offspring ; a male and a female figure are seated close together sharing the

scarf draped over their heads ; the man holds a *patera* as if ready to offer a libation, whilst the woman nurses a baby on her knee. It has been suggested that here Mater Matuta herself is tending a young god. Two monuments of motherhood, approaching life-size, are sculptured in stone. In one we have a normal pair, mother and child ; but in the second the matronly figure seated in a chair manages to accommodate on her lap with apparent safety no fewer than four of the mummy-like little bundles of humanity : perhaps this is Mater Matuta.

A small amount of information is forthcoming about the state of education. It is pretty certain that both boys and girls of the ruling class (we know nothing of the others) were educated. Etruscan women are often depicted with scrolls in their hands, which implies the ability to read. In the museum at Volterra the burial-urn of a young girl whose effigy rests on the cover is decorated on one side with a bas-relief of a group of girls holding open rolls—presumably in a girls' school-room. Etruscan boys of the *Lucumon* set would necessarily be given at least vocational instruction. They would have to master the books of the ' Discipline' fairly early, for they assisted as youths at the ritual ceremonies. On these occasions they were dressed in the special white, purple-bordered toga which later, as the *toga praetexta*, was added to the Roman wardrobe, and they wore the sacred *bullæ*, a large neck-pendant within which were hidden various charms.

Livy says that Roman patrician lads, at the beginning of the fourth century, were sent into Etruria for part of their education, so may we presume that there were famous public schools in Tarquinia, Cerveteri, and elsewhere ? Perugia has been credited with being

the principal, even as being the only centre, for instruction in the ' Etruscan Discipline ', but the truth of this is doubtful ; Cerveteri as a special centre of learning is a much more likely suggestion.

The very nursery class has had some of its apparatus preserved. In the museum at Florence there is a precious ivory tablet, three inches by four, which was surely the copy-book of a small Etruscan of high degree. Over its surface would be smeared the wax on which he was expected to trace his letters with a *stilus* ; and there before him was his model, for cut along the raised rim of the ivory is the alphabet. The youthful scholar may have scowled pretty often at that alphabet, but for us it is a treasure more valuable than many things of beauty, for it is the earliest known tracing of the Phoenician-Greek letters (p. 174). Perhaps it came to the little prince, or princess, of Marsiliana d'Albegna as a gift from the Orient, perhaps it had been specially made to order by a clever Etruscan carver of Caere.

' Learning made pleasant ' : that may have been the intention of those who gave their children quaint jugs or vases over the surface of which wandered the letters of the alphabet together with the familiar-looking syllables *ma*, *mi*, *me*—an alluring puzzle rather than a task. Two such bits of pottery are preserved in Rome, one found near Veii and one in Caere.

Children were never cremated, and a very striking custom required that as a rule—in some localities at any rate—their graves should be situated outside the family vaults ; there is to be seen, for instance, at Cerveteri, a child's stone coffin placed near one of the tumuli. In all Etruria there is no more touching resting-place than one recently opened up in a *tomba a*

camera, also at Cerveteri. A sarcophagus bed had been made ready for a woman, the stone pillow being hollowed out in a semicircle to receive her head, as was not unusual. The rare feature is the presence, alongside the place where the mother's head had lain, of a tiny depression in which must have rested the head of her baby.

Children were given gracious memorial-urns and steles. One fourth-century stele showing a little girl playing with a dove is very reminiscent of many similar monuments to Greek children that have been found in and near Athens. Alongside the child in its grave were carefully arranged its worldly possessions—the cups and plates it had been accustomed to use, as well as its playthings; toy horses were found in one small coffin.

In the third century B.C. childhood was represented freely in Etruscan sculpture which was at that time permeated with Hellenistic tendencies. Three statuettes of boys have come down to us from this period; two are in the Vatican Museum. They are heavily modelled and unattractive. The best known was found in Trasimene; it is a nude figure, but decked with armlets, anklets, and a very big circular *bullæ* suspended from a heavy twisted chain. The boy holds a bird by the tail. An inscription on one leg says that the statue was dedicated to the god *San* (Silvanus).

CHAPTER XII

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

DUCATI says that the Etruscan language is the Etruscan Sphinx, which still keeps its secrets, smiling at us mockingly the while. We have failed to discover its family connexions, and we have caught the meaning of but few of its fragmentary utterances.

The materials available for the study of the Etruscan language are discouragingly scanty. It is true that nearly 9,000 inscriptions have been collected, but most of them are isolated words and dedicatory phrases made up of proper names ; only nine are over thirty words in length.

Some of the words are found on mural paintings, where a man's name is often written above his head ; sometimes the lower animals are labelled, though whether '*krankru*' (p. 62) meant simply the leopard or was a pet name for the Velii's big cat we do not know.

We catch glimpses of the people's little thoughts in the inscriptions on cups, vases, and utensils. Sometimes it is only '*Mi Thancvilus Fulnial*' (' I belong to Tanaquilla Fulvia ') ; sometimes the jug says, ' Do not touch me ; I am not yours.' The word '*suthina*', an adjective meaning ' pertaining to the tomb ', occurs frequently on objects used as tomb-furniture. It was intended to prevent people from stealing those things, and in many cases it would be written at the time of burial. One almost unique vase, shaped like a bird, the property of a child of the seventh century, was his

first lesson-book, inscribed with the alphabet and easy syllables for his word-building. Mirrors decorated with Greek mythological subjects are very helpful towards language study when they bear Greek names modified into Etruscan forms.

Because he regarded inanimate things as personalities the Etruscan gave commands to the missiles he hurled at his enemies; thus when we find '*harc*' written on a lump of metal we know that the thing is being ordered to go and 'kill'.

Dedications or appeals to the gods are very numerous. A statue or a statuette may be at one and the same time a memorial to a man and a votive offering to a god—presumably to secure the god's goodwill on the man's behalf. The wife appeals for her husband, and the father for his dead son. Usually the dedication contains the names of the deceased, of the dedicator, and of the god. The most magnificent bronze statue yet found, the *Arringatore*, has an inscription cut along the border of the toga. It informs us that the statue was set up in honour of Aulus, son of Velus Metellus and of Vesia, and was dedicated to the god *Sansl*.

Two peoples as widely separated as the ancient Egyptians and the English of our witchcraft days thought that they could torture those against whom they bore a grudge by mutilating waxen images of them. Just such a mental outlook had an ill-willed Etruscan, and he pushed his hatred onward into the next world. This idiosyncrasy of his finds expression on small laminae of lead found in the graves. They carry imprecations. Quite often on the sheet of metal there are three items—a list of names, a formula which was the equivalent of a curse, and the name of a god. So that in effect the hater said: 'I consign the above

mentioned to the infernal gods [or to the god so-and-so], to whom I offer sacrifice.'

By far the largest number of inscriptions are connected with burials; they may be merely the names cut in the stone above the door of the tomb as at Orvieto; or they may be longer legends within the tomb, as on a pillar in the *Tifone Tomb* at Tarquinia. It stands thus:

> V 1 W V 1 : > I Δ Δ J
 V Δ J > : J Δ Δ V Δ Δ
 3 > Δ ↓ 3 >

Reading this from right to left we have: 'Laris Pumpus Arnthal clan cechase', which means, 'Larth Pompeius, son of Arunte, priest'; '*clan*' means 'son of' and '*cechase*' means 'priest'.

As an example of an Etruscan sentence the meaning of which has been pretty satisfactorily ascertained there may be quoted the words which are placed above the boy standing at the table in the *Velii Tomb*. They are:

Vel : leinies : larthial : rufa : arnthialum
 clan : velusum : prumathś : avils : semphś
 lupuce.

The meaning is: 'Vel Leinies, brother of Larth, son of Arnth, and grand-nephew of Vel, died at the age of seven years.'¹

The cinerary urn and the sarcophagus often give the

¹ *Larthial*, genitive of *larthe*; *rufa*, brother (probably); *um*, in *arnthialum* and *velusum*, and; *clan*, son; *prumathś*, great-nephew, or descendant; *avils*, at the age of; *semphś*, seven (probably); *lupuce*, died.

genealogy of those to whom they belong. In the early stages of history a person had only two names—his fore-name and his family name; in some cases only the first is specified in the inscription, whilst in others the only identifying word is ‘*sec*’ or ‘*puiā*’, meaning daughter or wife—evidently deemed sufficient when used in a family burial-place. The next general development was the addition of the mother’s name or the father’s, or both; then followed a time of lengthy epitaphs when the family history might be indicated even more fully by going back another generation to include the parentage of mother and father: in all, a person might thus have eight significant names. Further, when a family became so great that it broke up into several distinct branches, each of these adopted a *cognomen*.

On one urn is the inscription ‘*Vel sethre puiac*’, which means ‘Velio Sethre and his wife’ (*c*, enclitic, means ‘and’); this shows that the ashes of two spouses had been enclosed in the same urn. Where husband and wife are buried together it is often plain that the inscription was made in two parts, that is, at the death of each individual.

The dead man sometimes carried his biography, the creditable parts of it, we may suppose, into the next life. The effigy on a Tarquinian sarcophagus holds such a scroll, and in this case the contents are open to our inspection. What a pity we cannot understand this testimonial addressed to the gods.

The steles or gravestones bore epitaphs and often pictorial references to the dead. The stele, in Florence, of *Aule Pheluske* (or *Feluske* or *Eluske*), on which is incised the archaic figure of a warrior (p. 92) surrounded by a roughly-engraved band of lettering, is important

by reason of several unusual details of its seventh-century script, the most obvious being the absence of spaces between the words. This is one of the oldest inscriptions known to us ; along with it may be mentioned the oldest-known record in Latin. At Praeneste, in Latium, was found a gold fibula probably made by Etruscan hands in the seventh century ; it bears an inscription in the Latin language, but written in Etruscan characters, which runs : ‘ Manios made me for Numasios.’

The longest inscription found within Etruria itself came from Capua, and is now in Berlin. It consists of sixty-one lines, contains about 300 legible words, and is written on a terra-cotta slab ; its contents are probably sacred in character. The bronze *fegato* of Piacenza has already been mentioned ; we learn from it the names of forty-seven Etruscan deities, as well as the words for the sun (*usil*) and for the moon (*tiv*). Quite the most curious document, and the longest of all, came to light in Egypt, in Alexandria ; it is preserved in Agram, Yugoslavia. This relic constituted the linen bands wrapped round the mummy of a woman ; the writing, late in date, runs to about 1,500 words arranged in twelve columns. The subject-matter is still in dispute, some of the conjectures being as diverse as these—funeral ceremonies, a curse, a sacred calendar, prayers to Egyptian gods, statues struck by lightning, a ‘ book of the dead ’. There are several numerals and several allusions to the gods. Three theories are more important than the others. According to one the contents treat of a large necropolis, the numbers refer to roads or to burial-plots, and the gods are being appealed to as protectors of the dead. By others the writing is regarded as a sacred calendar,

the numbers indicating the days of the month set apart for the worship of certain deities. Trombetti considered that the columns contained directions for a ceremonial procession in which the statues of gods, and perhaps also ancestral heroes, were carried round with great solemnity according to a formula. On the mummy bands was set out the formula, and one phrase in particular gave instructions for the images to be carried 'forwards and backwards' three times. This ceremony would correspond more or less exactly with the Roman *lectisternium* introduced into Rome about the end of the fourth century B.C.; the images of the Roman gods were borne along a prescribed route, placed in pairs on couches, and had a sacred feast set before them. The occasion might be the celebration of a victory or a supplication in time of distress.

The student of Etruscology who makes Perugia a centre will find exceptional opportunities for deciphering inscriptions. The museum provides him with scores of the short type, and it is rightly proud of having one of the very few long ones. The latter consists of 120 words cut very clearly and regularly on an upright slab (*cippus*). Amongst the words are '*tularu*', which refers to boundaries, '*naper*', a measure, '*thaura*', a tomb, and several numerals. There are two outstanding opinions about the content of the passage; one that it is the dedication of tombs belonging to the two families mentioned on it; the other that it is a contract between the families for the sale of land on which to construct a tomb, the *cippus* to be set up at the boundary. The tomb of the Volumni has already been mentioned; the writing over its door states the ownership of the place and that it was a family tomb; that on the marble urn

has its special value in being bilingual. The Latin version is :

P. VOLVMNIUS . A. F. VIOLENS
CAFATIA . NATVS .

The Etruscan is :

JAITAA):VA:ANMILEJ:TV7

l a i t a h a c : u a : a n m i l e v : p u p

This was the urn of Publius Volumnius, whose father was Aulus and whose mother was Cafatia. *Violens* has no equivalent in the Etruscan version. The correspondence of *cafatia natus* with *cahatial* establishes clearly the rule that *al* is a genitive or adjectival suffix which has the force of 'child of'.

Perhaps some people may consider that the most interesting of all the writings is to be found in the tomb of San Manno (p. 44), about two miles from Perugia. There, along the magnificent vaulted roof, stretches what Maffei called the 'Queen of Etruscan inscriptions'. It consists of twenty-eight words separated one from the other by two dots (:) ; with the exception of the last word it is in perfect condition. At the International Etruscan Congress in 1928 Professor Buonamici of Florence presented an exhaustive account of the history of San Manno and of the research directed round its inscription. It is now generally agreed that it is a memorial concerning the construction of the burial-vault for the family of *Precu*, and the prayers and offerings made for their dead.

To reconstruct a language from material so fragmentary and so restricted in its subject-matter as the

Etruscologists have to depend upon seems an impossibility, and the wonder is, not that results are scanty, but that there are any reliable results at all. Only a slight indication of what has been accomplished can be given here.

In the first place, a short vocabulary has been compiled. The words determined with fair certainty include (the list is only illustrative) substantives relating to kinship, burials, and sacred things, as well as proper names and names of divinities; a few verbs such as 'die', 'build', 'dedicate'; the demonstrative pronoun 'this', and perhaps the personal pronoun of the first person singular (*mi*); two conjunctions, and some words of general character. Whilst it is pretty certain that '*clan*' means 'son', '*puia*' means 'wife', and '*sec*' means daughter, the equivalents of 'father' and 'mother' can only be suspected. The conjunctions (-c) and (-m) are enclitic particles meaning respectively 'and', and, approximately, 'but'. They are of great importance in comparisons with Asiatic languages. The words which stand for the numerals up to nine are known, but the equivalence of the individual numbers to the individual words is still much debated. The numbers up to six are written in word form on the sides of two ivory dice found in a tomb at Toscanella (now in the Vatican).

One is surprised to find so many etymological and grammatical points well established—sufficient at any rate to show that Etruscan was undergoing evolution towards becoming an inflectional language, though the process was not yet complete. Terminations for genitive, dative, and locative cases are known; so are forms of the feminine and the plural, adjective suffixes, and verbal forms for the present and perfect tenses, the

past participle, gerunds, and the imperative mood. A few amongst the grammatical usages recognized are these: the same form of the verb is used for the third person singular as for the third person plural; the employment of a double genitive, ' *išla* ', as in ' *arnthial-išla* ', meaning the descendant of Arunte in the second degree, whereas ' *arnthal* ' means simply ' the child of Arunte ' ; in dedications two genitives may be used, one replacing a dative, i.e. the name of the god and the name of the object offered to the god (illustrated in the inscription on the *Arringatore*) ; one suffix which denotes an agent is exemplified in the word ' *atranesi* ', found on a vase and meaning ' made by Atrane ' ; in addition to the usual suffix ' *s* ' or ' *ś* ' there was another, ' *al* ', which embodied the idea of ' descendant of ' and which had an adjectival force—a fact of the highest value in comparative research into the relationships of Etruscan with other languages.

It is evident that the Etruscan language underwent very considerable evolutionary changes during the many centuries of its existence. No doubt the contributory causes were many, and no doubt the most effective of them was the intercourse, often the fusion, with the intermixed and the surrounding races—Umbrians, Latins, and others. The nation in its racial elements varied from district to district, speaking different dialects. Syntax varied between one State and another and between one period and another. The vocabulary was gradually enlarged by borrowings from other languages—a mutual process. One of the most extraordinary variations consisted in the disappearance and reappearance of vowels from words—proved by hundreds of examples, in all kinds of words. In the earliest inscriptions (eighth and seventh

centuries) there is a wealth of vowels, far more than half the total number of letters in a word in some cases. Here is one example :

ETHAVAITHIZUSUZAILIMUNAATIUTHNATH,

a specimen also of the style in which no separation was made between words. About the sixth century began the suppression of vowels, and there appear such forms as these—*mlach*, *hathrthi*, *nuzlchne*, etc. As a consequence of the vowel elision the language tended to become monosyllabic, and, also, the pronunciation must have grown very harsh. The period of suppression was followed by one of re-insertion, even finishing with a superabundance of vowel sounds, there being a queer disregard as to whether that supplied was the original vowel or not. Thus the term used for Minerva may pass from *mnrv* to *meneruva*. At all times, it would seem, the Etruscan enjoyed 'free spelling'.

Much discussion has revolved round the origin of the Etruscan alphabet ; one opinion widely accepted at the present time is that it was derived from the ancient Greek before there was any divergence between the Eastern and Western types of the Greek alphabet. An early seventh-century copy of the Etruscan letters is engraved round the ivory writing-tablet from Marsiliana d'Albegna (p. 163), and very close copies of this occur on two earthenware vessels, as already noticed. When, about the fifth century, the characteristic national alphabet had been pretty well fixed, it had been reduced to :

vowels : a e i u (note absence of o)

consonants : c ch h t th s ś z p ph f v l r m n

a	A A A A
b ¹	1 8 8 8 B B
c	K K X J J
e	E E E E
f ²	F 1 8 8 8
g ¹	J J J
h	8 8 8
i	1 3
k ³	X K K X
l	✓ J V
m	M M M M M
n	N Y M
p	1 1 1 1 P
q	Q Q Q
r	P D 4 Q 4
s	2 2 2
ś	M M
t	T X T Y T
u	V Y
v	7 7
z	7 7 V 7 7
ch	✓ V 4
ph	Q Q
th	◊ ⊕ ⊕ ⊗ ⊙ ⊙

FIG. 13

ETRUSCAN ALPHABET IN USE ABOUT THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY. VARIOUS FORMS OF LETTERS, TAKEN FROM INSCRIPTIONS.

EXCEPTIONS:

1. The symbols for *b* and *g* are Greco-Etruscan.
2. Those for *f* appeared in the fifth century.
3. *k* was inter-changeable with *c*.

In most cases Etruscan must be read from right to left, only occasionally from left to right. The strange and rare *boustrophedon* writing runs first towards the left, then towards the right, then left again, and so on. On a small tablet of lead from Magliano the words follow each other along the line of a spiral. Punctuation took its own course of development. In archaic writing there is often no space or mark separating one word from another. Later it became customary to place one or more dots between words, three dots belonging to older inscriptions, two dots (:) to the best period of writing.

Not a line of Etruscan literature has been recovered, and only the scantiest mention of any exists in Latin writings. The laws of the 'Discipline' were not written down until a late date, and can hardly be classed as literature, unless, as some think, they were given a metrical form. No doubt there were also sacred chants or liturgies. In some of the epitaphs, e.g. that at San Manno, may be sensed an elementary rhythm. One Latin writer mentions an Etruscan tragedian, but the evidence is vague. It was also affirmed that folk-poetry from rural Etruria passed into use in the Roman streets as the coarse *Fescennines*, elaborated according to Livy into the Roman satires. All which information is very meagre. We are left to surmise that this nation, which had lived through centuries of a vivid existence, possessed neither imagination nor aesthetic taste, neither a historical sense nor a sense of humour. It wove no tales of high heroism, sang no songs to its gods, wrote no Pindaric odes. It was a nation which attained the peace associated with successful colonization and the leisure

which accompanies wealth and power; it lived in stirring times and in stimulating intercourse with the fervid cultures of other Mediterranean peoples. It is nearly unbelievable that it was roused to *no* literary enthusiasm, but it is equally difficult to believe that it had a literature and that every vestige of it has been destroyed. To this riddle also we seek a solution and find none.

More than one philologist has devoted the labour of a lifetime to tracing the parentage of the Etruscan language and determining its relationships with other tongues. Yet agreement still seems far distant. This is no place even to outline the controversies; there can only be indicated the main lines of attack on the problem and the prevailing opinions.

Curiosity respecting the origin of the Etruscan race and language—a double problem—has exercised intellects of many grades for at least two centuries. Many theories have been put forth, some of them merely wild speculations. By one or another of them Etruscan has been given kinship with most of the tongues of the civilized world, including Irish, Australian, and American. The day of the superficial theorist is gone, however, and only well-tested results of scientific research now have any chance of a hearing.

Whilst details of argument must be omitted, mention should be made here of the names of some of the great investigators. In 1867 Fabretti (a Perugian) initiated the colossal task of making available for workers the material recovered, through an annotated collection of all the known Etruscan inscriptions. His work was subsequently carried on by a succession of scholars and is still progressing, the last supplement to

this *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* being issued in 1923.

In 1875 Deecke gave a lead with his methodized scheme of investigation. He originated the *combinatory method*, which was followed, with modifications, by Pauli, Torp, Skutsch, Schulze, and Herbig. Strictly adhered to, this form of inquiry confines itself within the Etruscan language itself—comparing, eliminating, and combining amongst the inscriptions, making great use in particular of the short examples. It deals with ‘Etruscan through Etruscan’, though Latin (and other languages) may be brought under review in order to disinter the Etruscan elements incorporated in them. Much patient building results in a very small structure. It is a slow and difficult business, but the conclusions which have been arrived at are regarded as being so well proved as to be beyond question; the results are ‘modest but certain’, says Ducati.

The second method employed in this language research is the *etymological*. This is based upon comparisons with other tongues; it must take cognizance of phonetics, vocabularies, and, above all, of the grammatical structure of the language, that part which is intrinsic, which is evolved from within it. The method must distinguish between similarities and identities; it demands an abundance of detailed evidence on which to base its deductions. Those who practise it must be equipped with wide and profound linguistic culture. Herbig, one illustrious exponent, has established by this method many points of contact between Etruscan and Asiatic idioms. Thomsen began in 1889 to investigate the connexion between Etruscan and Caucasian dialects, and found striking analogies in grammar—syntax, suffixes, etc. Ribezzo, in 1920,

began to publish the results of his comparative studies in the place and family names of the peoples ranging from Asia Minor to the Pyrenees, carrying his inquiry also into the Hittite region. He came to the conclusion that the Etruscan language belonged to non-Aryan stock.

Trombetti, the famous Etruscologist whose sudden death in 1929 was so deeply deplored, pursued a course of work based in the main on *etymological* principles ; whilst he was in no sense antagonistic to the *combinatory* plan, he regarded it as too limited ; it needed in his opinion to be supplemented and intensified by operations carried farther afield. He applied to his laborious task immense linguistic and racial erudition and an honest ability to change his opinions when sufficient reason accumulated to justify him.

There have been many other serious workers at this problem and many other hypotheses. After long years of discussion attention is now centred round one great question, really an old one, namely, whether this language of mystery is Aryan or an-Aryan—whether it belongs to the Indo-European or the Caucasian group of languages. The last authoritative pronouncement was that of Trombetti in 1926, a statement in which he made public a radical change in his views. He carries the disputed points back to a very remote epoch, establishing kinship between Indo-European and Caucasian themselves, deriving them from the same parent group. This last very ancient language he considers was spoken by a 'Mediterranean race' who peopled the lands from Asia Minor to the Pyrenees, where he links them up with the Basques. According to the evolutionary sequence he postulates, the Etruscans were neither Indo-European nor Caucasian, but,

seeing that these two groups were closely related to each other, a relationship with one of them did not exclude relationship with the other. From the primitive ('Mediterranean') stock, the Caucasian tribes (and tongues) differentiated first; the next stage saw a further cleavage of the original race into two groups—(a) Indo-European, and (b) a composite group which included Etruscan and the ancient peoples of Asia Minor—Lydians, Lycians, and others. This last set of all is what Trombetti styles an 'intermediate group'. He has formulated this summary of his conclusions:

'Etruscan, whilst it is akin to both Indo-European and Caucasian, does not belong to either group: it belongs, together with the ancient languages of Asia Minor, to a group intermediate between Indo-European and Caucasian. . . . This intermediate group comes nearer to Indo-European than to Caucasian. . . . From this it differs more in the lexical than in the grammatical part.'

This theory of Trombetti's is regarded by many authorities, including Buonamici, as being reasonable. It has, however, strong opponents. Not all, by any means, are convinced of the rightness of the interpretation put upon Caucasian comparisons by Thomsen, Trombetti, and others. Lattes wrote many memoirs between 1869 and 1925, upholding his view that Etruscan was definitely of Italic origin, one of the indigenous dialects of the peninsula; his was a modern defence of a very old belief. Nogara is a staunch follower of Lattes, with reservations of his own propounding. He stresses the claim that Etruscan is of

mixed parentage, Latin and other dialects of the peninsula sharing that same character : each one is a *complex* of linguistic elements. This is, of course, true of nearly all languages, but he regarded it as a very specific fact in this case. In his opinion the question of Indo-European or non-Indo-European should be, at first, subordinated to that of Italic or non-Italic.

We arrive once again at a position where two main hypotheses are in opposition—(a) that of Trombetti, that Etruscan belongs to a group intermediate between Indo-European and Caucasian, and (b) that of Nogara, that it is a mixed tongue of Italic origin. Buonamici suggests that the two theories are capable of reconciliation. Trombetti argues that Etruscan arose by *differentiation* at a certain stage from a pre-Indo-European stock ; Buonamici asks if this differentiation did not arise, in all probability, from a *mixture* of races, which brings in Nogara's idea.

And still there is no finality. The matter stands at the present time almost in a state of equilibrium ; neither the Aryan nor the an-Aryan advocates have proved their case. For learning, enthusiasm, persevering toil—what rewards ? Naked negations most of them. Is this the jest concealed in the Sphinx's subtle smile ?

But there is at least one Etruscologist who does not lose courage. Professor Buonamici, whilst recognizing the extreme and multiple difficulty of this language problem, will accept no despondent hint that it cannot be solved. He faces its complexity and urges co-operation with investigators exploring other fields—history, archaeology, anthropology. The recent congresses of Etruscan scholars of all nations should be very helpful in bringing this about. Buonamici points out many

directions in which progress might be made. Trombetti's research must be carried forward, more and more material added to his thousands of examples bearing upon the Caucasian-Pyreanean group; etymological and combinatory methods should both be brought into service, the external acquisitions being utilized for comparison with the internal evidence gathered from Etruscan itself. The very promising sources recently tapped in the lands of the Lydians and the Hittites should attract keen attention. Results like the discovery of the common occurrence of the two types of skull associated in early Italian graveyards (evidence of a mixed race) should be placed alongside linguistic evidence. Organized search must be made for a bilingual of amplitude, choosing likely localities such as the confines of Umbria and places where there are remains dating from the period when Latin was coming into use in Etruria. It may prove worth while to carry out a re-examination of some Etruscan objects housed in public collections, and also to make attempts to explore some of the contents of private collections.¹ Latin writings should be scanned for Etruscan words and an anthology of apposite passages compiled. The place-names of all regions, including colonies, which had been inhabited by Tyrrheni, should be studied, as well as the incidence of family names, which should be plotted on a map. It should be regarded as possible that the living dialects of Italy may conserve Etruscan elements within their constitution.

Meanwhile we may sum up the general information

¹ A *questionnaire* asking for particulars of any Etruscan objects discovered has been prepared by the International Institute of Etruscan Studies. It may be obtained from: The Secretary, Via Ginori, 13, Florence.

about the people themselves which has come to light in the course of language investigations ; it is far from negligible. We learn that the Etruscan regarded all things, even the chunk of stone, as having a mind to which he could appeal. His gods, in name, matched the gods of Greece and Rome, but the personality he gave to them was of his own imagining. His superstition included a belief in the efficacy of curses, especially if he could induce a god to help them on their way. Two votive statuettes from Sovana (now in Florence), presents made to explain to a god what was desired, have their hands bound behind their backs—an expression of the hope that the hated individuals might become paralysed.

We find interesting points in family relationships revealed by a word or two ; for instance, the clear statement over one of the banqueting scenes in a tomb picture (p. 145) to the effect that the pair on the couch are a noble and his wife disposes of one Greek slander against Etruscan women. The word *lautn* is found in inscriptions in tombs ; it means ' family ' in the wide sense of including servants, and therefore indicates a custom of the family dependants sharing the family burial-chamber.

From another monument comes the information that women could hold public offices. Many instances have been found in which the remains of husband and wife have been placed to rest, not only in the same chamber, but in the same sarcophagus or cinerary urn. This, however, was not a universal practice. The epitaphs sometimes show that the wife was taken back to her father's burial-place ; for example, there are tombs where there had rested in company several sisters who had been married. The museum at Perugia

contains one striking collection of thirty urns found in the neighbourhood. All of them belong to the family *Rafia*, and in their original positions were grouped round the principal personage, a magistrate, we are told ; the daughters have been brought home again to sleep.

Almost always the utmost care is given to setting forth the genealogy of members of a noble family ; both pride in family descent and great respect for the maternal line of ancestry are implied in the inscriptions. We learn how the husband commemorated the wife, the wife the husband, and the son his parents. Immense respect was paid to the preservation of family ties and to the family history ; only in the later centuries did licentiousness go about unashamed.

Such are a few of the personal particulars which the Etruscans have, unwittingly, written down on stone and clay and metal for our enlightenment.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ORIGIN OF THE ETRUSCANS

ETRURIA proper, occupying that very well-defined geographical block of central Italy hemmed in by the sea and the Apennines, was surrounded by a diversity of native peoples—Latins, Sabines, Picenes, and, on the north, others to whom we need attach no name at present (p. 194). Between the civilizations of these tribes and that of the Etruscans there was a gulf far more profound than was manifest amongst the tribes themselves. The Etruscan culture stood alone, on a hill-top, as it were ; it had the air of an alien. Was it an alien ? Or was it merely an unnatural and freakish member which had individualized itself with a measure of genius within the household of the original Italian clans. Many scholars have devoted many years to the search for material and argumentative grounds which would enable them to say ‘ Yea ’ or ‘ Nay ’ to these questions. Our review of the case must be of the briefest, and can give only the most salient points in the controversy.

A. Let us take first the ‘ alien ’ theory. Whence are the strangers supposed to have come, and by what routes ? The chief (not the only) places of origin which have been suggested are : (i) Asia Minor, and more precisely Lydia, with, as possible alternatives or supplements, Greece and the eastern isles ; (ii) the Danubian lands ; (iii) the Rhaetic valleys of the Alps.

(i) This theory has historical support which, if valid, would place it beyond dispute. Herodotus in the

fifth century B.C. tells a story of Lydia. In the days of King Atys the land was afflicted with a dire and prolonged famine. A quaint but desperate aid to endurance was tried : food, or the thought of it, on certain days ; games supposed to be so fascinating in their novelty (dice, draughts, etc.) that they made the player forget his hunger, on the alternate days. But a famine which lasted for years demanded a more practical remedy. So the nation was divided into two parts—one to stay in Lydia with the old king, the other to adventure forth under the leadership of one of his sons, Tirsenus. Sailing west the pilgrims rounded the south of Italy, landed on its western coasts, and settled there, subduing the natives, the *Ombrikoi* (Umbrians), and founding a new nation. Eminently simple. Only one of the Greek or Latin writers who were contemporary with or later than Herodotus disagreed with him. In assessing the worth of the ancient tale the modern student may rely upon this, that whilst the details of the migration are known to be discordant with established chronology, the broad principles involved may be separated out and accorded their value ; there was a movement of bands of people out from their homeland as a result of inadequacy of food-supply probably correlated with increase in population—which has happened again and again in history. The sole dissentient from Herodotus was Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who in the first century B.C. asserted that Herodotus was romancing and that all the other writers were merely echoing him. He based his opinion on a history written by a Lydian in the fifth century, who in his narrative of King Atys had made no mention of the national division and emigration. The argument was preposterously feeble,

and, further, Dionysius had no first-hand knowledge of the book from which he quoted.

We are justified therefore in giving some weight to the statement of Herodotus, though by itself it would be inadmissible as a proof. It is strengthened by discoveries made about the Etruscans themselves. These include details of dress (p. 123), customs, such as the position assigned to women (p. 156), superstitious observances, more particularly the art of divination (p. 88), and a few alphabetic and linguistic peculiarities—all of which are regarded by many authorities as constituting links with Lydia or countries bordering on it. As an instance, there has been compiled by G. Herbig a striking and instructive list of parallelisms between Asia Minor and Etruria, in respect of roots, suffixes, and phonetics. In the national museum at Athens is a unique and most mysterious funeral stele which was found in 1885 at Kaminia in the island of Lemnos. Its carving in low-relief represents a soldier equipped with lance and round shield. Its inscription, allocated to the seventh century B.C., is written in Greek alphabet of Asiatic type. The language is not Greek, but some unidentified tongue related clearly, as nearly every one of the savants agrees, to Etruscan. But though the similarity of the Etruscan and the 'stele' language is granted, the inferences drawn are very diverse. One explanation offered is that the Etruscans must have had a colony in Lemnos ; another, that Lemnos was one of the early homes of the Tyrrheni ; a third, that the individual commemorated was a stranger in the land where he died and might have come originally from one of the Asiatic provinces in which the mother-tongue of Etruscan was spoken.

Three routes by which the Asiatic migrants travelled

to central Italy have had their advocates. F. Weege, recently, has pressed the idea that they kept mainly to the land, passing by way of the Balkan Peninsula and the Adriatic or the coasts to the north of it into the northern plains of Italy and thence across the mountains into Tuscany. But archaeological research proves beyond doubt that the progressive establishment of Etruscan civilization moved in exactly the opposite direction within Italy (p. 203). The same objection, and others, can be raised against the hypothesis, based on a wrong reading of an old Greek text, that the Etruscan colonies were first established on the Adriatic coast of Italy, on one of the branches of the River Po. Spina, the port in question, certainly was a most important place, but not until the Etruscan power was at its height in Italy.

There remains for the adventurers the way of Herodotus—up the west coast, landing where landing seemed safe at spots between Tiber and Arno. From such places their penetration inland to the east and to the north would be slow, extending over many years. Archaeological evidence is all in favour of this view.

(ii) There are some who believe that the invaders came from Central Europe, that they entered in successive waves which had originated on the borderlands of the Danube. These theorists make them identical with the *Terramare* folk (p. 193), who certainly made many settlements on the northern plains but who cannot be shown to have spread in appreciable numbers over Tuscany and Umbria.

(iii) A solution which bears little investigation was proposed by a Frenchman in the first half of the seventeenth century; it became of importance only when Niebuhr gave it the weight of his authority. It

claims that the forerunners of the Etruscans were the ancient *Reti*, people who inhabited the valleys of the Rhaetic Alps, the grounds adduced being that Etruscan place-names and inscriptions are found in these valleys, and that the terms *Rasena* and *Reti* are akin. The explanation of these traces of Etruscans is that, late in the nation's history, under the driving terror of the Gallic invasions, Etruscans took refuge in these inaccessible places and stayed there, becoming more debased as to customs and language. This was quoted as a fact by Livy and misconstrued by Niebuhr. But the discoveries which prove the march of Etruscan colonization northwards till it reaches Bologna render the Danubian theory quite untenable. Further, it is certain that the Rhaetic inscriptions are in no case earlier than the third century B.C.

B. We come finally to the hypothesis of the autochthonous origin of the Etruscans, whereby there is claimed for them relationship on equal racial terms with the Neolithic races of Sabines, Picenes, etc., i.e. they belonged to Italian soil. Dionysius, as already noted, upheld this view in opposition to the historical account of Herodotus. Its modern supporters were mentioned in Chapter XII, where the linguistic arguments upon which they chiefly based their opinions were outlined. According to their showing the primitive Etruscan was in occupation in Italy many centuries before the time when scholars who regard archaeological revelations and general race-culture as fundamental evidence consider that he brought his civilization into Italy from a distant land. Trombetti was, until his last years, one of those who accepted the migration idea of Herodotus and the proofs which have been adduced in favour of it by modern workers. It was

only in his latest publications that he renounced his old creed and subscribed to the doctrine that the progenitors of the Etruscans had lived in Italy from remote epochs.

There seems to be indisputable archaeological evidence that about the ninth century B.C. central Italy was stirred profoundly by the entry of some powerful foreign influence. This lies at the foundation of the whole classification of Etruscan cultural development built up by Ducati, and very widely accepted. It has been adopted as the guiding principle throughout all these pages.

Is there not a possibility here again that both parties may, in some measure, be right? The hypothetical Mediterranean race would be widely distributed. The section located in Italy would change in the course of ages in response to its environment. That living in Asia Minor probably developed in very different fashion, grew far apart in language and general culture. Was it not possible that these Asiatics carried out migrations westward about the ninth century B.C., and went to mingle with distantly related tribes so altered as to be totally alien to them? If so, Trombetti and Ribezzo have their ancient race, and Ducati has his influx of Asiatic civilization.

The names of this problematic race are in themselves matter for discussion. The Greeks called them *Tyrsenoi*, *Tyrrenhoi*, which by mutation may originate from Tirsenus, their mythical leader. From the people was derived the name of the *Tyrrhene* (Tyrrhenian) Sea. From these was derived the Latin form *Etrusci*; finally we arrive at Etruscans. *Tusci* was used in Latin as an equivalent from which comes *Tuscan*. They called themselves *Rasena*. Then there is a

possibility that the *Tursha* mentioned on Egyptian monuments as taking part in an attack on Egypt in the thirteenth century may have been *Tyrsenoi* from Lydia.

It must not be supposed that the Lydian adventurers appeared on the scene of the Tuscan Maremma in one great swarm. Almost certainly the first arrivals were little companies of bold sea-rovers, perhaps piratical, perhaps on the hunt for the copper and iron of which sea-people like the Phoenicians had told great stories in the East. Some came, took the things they wanted, and sailed away ; but some found it good to remain, and did so. Thus the beginning was made. Season after season would send new-comers ; colonies would grow ; they would spread inland from their first positions ; conquest and amalgamation with the native tribes would both play a part, until after generations had lived and died there a new nation was created. It is pretty generally accepted now that the first raids date from the last decades of the ninth century B.C. and that they continued for a great part of the succeeding century.

It may help towards the formation of a correct estimate of the Italian situation if we try to visualize the Mediterranean world during the last half of the ninth century before Christ.

Assyria was fast consolidating her empire and extending her power throughout western Asia. Egypt had lost her imperial position before the thirteenth century closed and was now sunk in lethargy, a sore fall from her position in 1400 B.C., when she was at her maximum greatness. Egypt's great rivals, the Hittites, also at the pinnacle of pride about 1400, had been

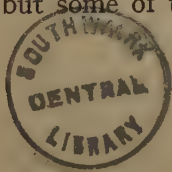
broken in 1260 when Achaeans from the Greek shores invaded Asia.

It must have been somewhere about the middle of the fourteenth century B.C. that the splendid Minoan civilization of Crete and Mycenae was overpowered by the pressure of the more virile Achaeans. These, beginning their inroads long before that date, descending from the mountain-land in the north of Greece, or even, as some believe, from the basin of the Danube, overran the Greek peninsula, Crete, the neighbouring islands, and even the Asiatic sea-board. It was Achaeans from Greece who at the beginning of the twelfth century besieged Troy, the fall of which was followed by the extension of the Greek zone in Asia. The Achaeans in their turn disappeared as a distinct race, merging into union with those whom they had conquered. Then about 1000 B.C. there streamed into the very same regions tribes who came from Macedon or the mountains to the west of it. This whole movement is known as the Dorian invasion, but three distinct bands took part in it—the Dorians, the Aeolians, and the Ionians. Eventually the Dorians settled down mainly in the Peloponnesus and in the south-west corner of the Asiatic coast, the Aeolians in Attica and the north-west of Asia Minor, the Ionians in the Asiatic coastal lands between the other two and in the adjacent islands. The Asiatic territory at first outstripped in its cultural development the Greek regions. In the Greek world of the ninth century Sparta, disciplined by the iron laws of Lycurgus, was the most powerful city; Athens was a city-state of minor standing, governed by a limited aristocracy; Greek rovers were venturing into distant seas.

It was the Phoenicians who were at that time the

master-mariners of the Mediterranean. Their home-territory was a narrow strip north of Palestine, from which they had voyaged forth generation after generation, establishing stations in North Africa, in Spain, and in many of the islands. At some date, variously surmised, within the ninth century, Carthage was founded by colonists from Tyre. As carriers of merchandise, as distributors of new ideas in art and industry, as promoters of mutual knowledge between nations, and as pioneers in navigation who soon had imitators, the Phoenicians must be regarded as powerful factors in the mingling of Mediterranean civilizations.

There remains the land which is now Italy ; what people or peoples were in possession there in the ninth century B.C. ? A brief outline of the views of one specialist, Dr. Randall-MacIver, on this chapter of history—the history of ancient Italian immigration—may be given. He considers that the aborigines, of Neolithic stock, belonged to the Mediterranean race which originated in North Africa, and that the Italian branches passed by way of Gibraltar, Spain, and the Riviera into Italy, spreading over the whole country, except perhaps Campania which received the same people by way of Sicily (Siculans). To the late Stone Age succeeded the Bronze Age, in which tribes of *Lake-dwellers* came out of the Alpine valleys to establish themselves in Lombardy. These died out without making lasting impression in the country. The next comers had travelled across the Alps from Danubian regions. They practised the curious custom of building their villages on piles—not in lakes, but on marshy ground. These were the people of the *Terramara*. For a long time they confined their occupation to the valley of the Po, but some of their settlements have



been found farther south. They were people of comparatively advanced culture, good workers in bronze ; by about 1400 B.C. they had raised the standard of industrial art in northern Italy. They cremated their dead and buried the ashes in urns. Our knowledge respecting the last centuries of the second millennium B.C. covers the bare fact that numerous bands of foreigners crowded into Italy from the north. These people were also distinguished by their practice of cremation. Randall-MacIver's theory is that they were related in a broad sense to the *Terramare* people and possessed the same civilization. They came in the Iron Age, between 1200 and 1000 ; several distinct waves of immigration indicate different nationalities. Italian archaeologists consider that the cremating people who spread from the country north of the Apennines into Etruria and Latium were no other than descendants of the *Terramare* tribes themselves. Neither theory is able to produce irrefutable proof of its soundness. Randall-MacIver's map of Italy for 1000 B.C. shows, in the first place, four 'nations' of the Danubian entrants : the Comacines in the west and the Atestines (later Venetians) in the east, both north of the Po ; the northern Villanovans to the north, and the southern Villanovans to the south-west of the Apennines as far south as the Alban Hills. In the second place, on the east of the Apennines, from Rimini southwards lay the country of the Picenes and the Samnites ; these are regarded by him as descendants of the Neolithic aborigines. The name of the Villanovans has been taken from the little village of Villanova near Bologna, where very important remains of their civilization were found (p. 235). Great stress is laid upon the burial customs of the two

groups of settlers, the Villanovans always practising cremation, their Neolithic predecessors inhumation ; in the map a line drawn from Rimini to Rome separates the cremating inhabitants from those who practised inhumation.

This theory of the history of the races with which the Tyrrheni were confronted in Italy has strong opponents. The term Villanovan is considered by the Italian workers to apply, in the narrow sense, to the descendants of the *Terramare* race. In its less definite sense, as Ducati maintains, Villanovan may be taken to denote a type of civilization, something which might be adopted by more than one nation. The Italian assertion, fundamentally different from that of Randall-MacIver is that the land which was the future Etruria was inhabited, when the Tyrrheni came, by natives known collectively as the *Umbri*. Greek and Latin references, as well as the evidence of place-names such as the Romanized 'Ombrone' (a river flowing south-west through the very middle of Etruria), are adduced as proof that the sphere of the *Umbri* extended from the mountains to the western sea-board. These were the occupants whom the Tyrrheni subdued, taught, and finally lived with amicably during the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries. Only towards the close of the latter did the Tyrrheni (now Etruscans) push their colonies across the mountains into the country round Bologna, where they found the Villanovans still carrying on their occupations in much the same primitive style as had done their ancestors of the seventh century. The term 'Villanovan civilization', especially its manifestation in the geometric style of art, is used by Ducati as the conventional equivalent of 'Umbrian', as far as it was located in

the original land of the Umbrians, that is, the country west of the Apennines, between the Arno on the north and the Tiber on the south.

To sum up : in the Mediterranean world of the ninth century B.C. we might have seen Umbrians (Villanovans), Sabines, Latins, and Picenes in Italy ; Hellenes all round the Aegean Sea ; Lycia, Caria, Lydia, and other provinces flourishing in Asia Minor ; farther west, Assyria gathering power ; Egypt quiescent ; Phoenicians everywhere.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HISTORY OF THE ETRUSCANS

TO transform the messages carried by material things like dishes and pictures and graves, and the wavering truths of legends many times retold, into a historical narrative as convincing as it is charming is a notable achievement, which on behalf of the Etruscan nation has been accomplished by Professor Pericle Ducati of Bologna. He has presented it to us in *Etruria Antica* and *La Storia dell' Arte Etrusca*. I am permitted by the author of these books to quote his synopsis of the course followed by Etruscan art, and it forms the basis of the very slight sketch of the development of the nation which is the subject of this and the following chapter. To make it easy to gain a very generalized view of the history of the people it has here been arranged arbitrarily according to centuries, Ducati's departures from this being noted where required.

Ducati recognizes two great periods of Etruscan art :

A. Archaic art : up to 400 B.C.

B. Fully developed art and its decadence, 400 B.C.—70 B.C.

A. comprises four phases :

(i) geometric up to 700 B.C.

(ii) orientalized up to 575 B.C.

(a) 700–625 B.C. : Phoenician-Cyprian.

(b) 625–575 B.C. : Transition to Greek.

(iii) Ionic and Ionic-Attic 575–475 B.C.

(iv) Archaic decadence 475–400 B.C.

B. is divided into three phases ; it corresponds to

the decadence of the nation and the growth of Roman power :

- (i) Renascence 400–300 B.C.
- (ii) Influence of Hellenism 300–200 B.C.
- (iii) End of Etruscan art 200–80 or 70 B.C.

EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.

The ninth century probably saw the first bold Tyrrheni drawing up their boats on the low, sandy western shores of central Italy. The earliest sea-rovers of all may have merely come, taken stock of the land and its people, and returned to their homeland. But there did come a day when men prepared to stay and determined to stay made their appearance. These men succeeded—won land, built houses, took slaves, grew rich. Stories of their great doings, of the wonderful country sparsely peopled, would be carried back to Asia, and would send more men to the ships. All through the eighth century we can see band after band arriving in the new country—men bred to agriculture, pottery-makers, and, above all, metal-workers. For these last the lure was particularly strong ; the East was fully aware of the copper, tin, lead, and silver of Tuscany, and of the iron and copper of Elba.

The Tyrrheni found in this land of lavish promise a people who seem to have been the reverse of warlike. The first settlements of the foreigners were planted along the coast, on the isolated elevations which make slight breaks in its monotonous level ; many of these were already occupied by the Umbri, the people of Villanovan civilization. Within this century there were founded Vetulonia, Caere, Tarquinia, Populonia, and other cities ; before the end of the century positions

farther inland were being sought after. The Umbri were conquered by force of the superior armour and weapons and war-craft with which the invaders were equipped ; when conquered they were made subordinate members of the community-scheme established by their overlords.

Quickly the aspect of the country became industrial, the lead and copper mines were exploited more actively, great quantities of iron ore were brought over from Elba, and the forests fell to feed the furnaces of Populonia. The crowds of clever craftsmen who rushed over from the old homes in the East glowed with delight over the wealth of metals flung before them. The Villanovans had done excellent work in bronze and copper and a little in iron, but they were far behind the new-comers in skill. They learnt quickly, however, from their masters, and they won their share of triumph in the new age of metals. An increased food-supply became a necessity, and a beginning was made in that agricultural transformation of lowland and submontane Italy which was perhaps the greatest service rendered by the Etruscans to Italy.

Applied art manifested itself in laminated bronze-work, in bronze fibulae and embossed belts, and in painted and incised pottery. The style of decoration until the end of the century was purely geometric ; an example with just a hint of higher aspiration in it is mentioned on page 117.

The cemeteries which have been identified with this century show a succession of fashions in burial. To the *tombe a pozzo* (p. 38) of the natives were added the *tombe a fossa* and the *tombe a tholos* of the *Tyrrheni*. Then there came into use the *tombe a circolo* and those later forms of them that were covered with mounds of

earth. As yet, however, there was nothing approaching architectural features in the tombs. If we accept the estimate that the ' Tomb of the Prince ' at Vetulonia is eighth century we can judge in some degree of the wealth of the settlers, of the fine silver and other articles imported from the East, and of the excellence of the local metal-workers.

By the end of the eighth century a great part of Umbria had been converted into Etruria, and the Villanovan geometric art was in course of transition into the Etruscan Oriental art.

Whilst following the course of events within Etruria we must also take note of such foreign affairs as concerned her vitally. The Phoenicians were in these early days and during most of Etruria's existence bound to her with ties of friendly and trading intercourse ; their city of Carthage was, even at this early date, a strong power in the western seas. Other colonists had come seeking fortune in these waters, from various parts of Greece, and by them were founded, all within the century—Naxos (in Sicily), Cumae, and Syracuse.

Phoenicians and Greeks were obvious factors in the Italian situation, but who would then imagine how Greek and Phoenician and Etruscan were to be cut out one by one by the descendants of a few peasants dwelling, at the beginning of the century, unnoticed, in their clusters of huts on the hilly banks of the Tiber ? There Rome was to rear herself, one of the most spectacular empires the world has ever seen, an empire which, if Etruria had been just a little different, might never have grown great. Hence the year 753 B.C., the traditional date of the founding of Rome, was for Etruria, as it was for Europe, a momentous year.

SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

And now we are confronted with the spectacle of a lusty nation in the full exuberance of successful youth, working hard and spending prodigally, sending its sons far up-country to found new cities on the strong places of Chiusi, Cortona, and elsewhere, and even making good amongst the less tractable tribes living to the south of the Tiber. She was consolidating the positions already won, perfecting her political organization, and pushing her commerce into all corners of the Mediterranean world. Her arts and crafts were developing amazingly, and her exports included the fruits of these activities as well as minerals and agricultural produce. The skill of her bronze-smiths was unsurpassed ; hammered bronze cauldrons like those found in the tombs were considered by the fastidious Greeks to be fit offerings to their gods at Olympia. It was the ' Golden Age ' of Etruria, in the sense that never before or after were her goldsmiths so exquisitely cunning in craftsmanship, and never was the precious metal so lavishly used in daily life. The rich took it with them to their graves as if the store to be drawn from was inexhaustible ; in Cerveteri, Vetulonia, Marsiliana d'Albegna, and even Latin Praeneste the tombs are treasure-houses.

Workers in terra-cotta were growing more skilful. Chiusi was already making its curious canopic funeral-jars, and its black bucchero ware. The first Etruscan sculptors were contriving to infuse into even works of crude realism genius which was veritably Etruscan.

Tomb architecture was conceived on a grand scale. Caere converted its mounds of earth into tumuli, and within them constructed well-decorated, fully-plenished

houses for the departed. The contents of the *Tomb of Isis*, from the vicinity of Vulci, now in the British Museum, give us some idea of a burial-place belonging to this century, one in which there was an unusually pronounced touch of Egypt. Towards the end of the period somebody introduced the idea of painting pictures on the walls of burial-chambers; the best-preserved example is the *Campana Tomb* at Veii, where again we find reminders of Egypt. Is there in this a hint that this method of treating the walls was borrowed from the Egyptians, amongst whom it was an old custom?

The outstanding quality of Etruscan culture during the seventh century was its suffusion with Oriental tendencies. Commercial relations with the eastern Mediterranean brought into the country in most attractive guise silverwork, carved ivories, painted pottery, woven stuffs—from Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Egypt. Not only were the beautiful things treasured in the princely homes of Caere and Vetulonia, but they were passed round as models, and very soon the keen-eyed, clever-fingered Etruscan was both copying them and creating after their fashion.

It may be reckoned that it was about the middle of this century that the Greek spirit began to make itself felt in Etruscan circles. Ducati's opinion is that about 625 B.C. the Cypro-Phoenician element was giving place rapidly to Corinthian Greek. Corinth had begun to raise her Doric temples about 650 B.C., and thereafter grew quickly in importance; Sparta was flourishing; Athens was a little town, but a little town with a prideful character of its own.

And what of the hamlets by the Tiber? What of the Latins and the Sabines? One aches to know what

really happened amongst them during those two centuries or so for which we have only the irritating vagueness of conflicting story-tellers. The villages were welded into a city—that much is certain ; did it take form at the very first as an Etruscan city ? It may have done so, for there is plenty of proof—in the tombs at Praeneste and in temples in other Latin cities—that Latium was overrun and at least partially colonized by Etruscans.

The story of Rome becomes more definite in the century to follow.

SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

Etruria had now reached the age of her widest expansion, an age of great territorial acquisitions and of great broadening of artistic and industrial outlook. The national boundaries were pushed outwards both on the peninsula and abroad. From the Etruscanized Latium raids were made into the territory farther south, with the result that a large part of Campania, including Capua, was added to Etruria. Eastwards, the movement passed up into the mountain land as far as Spoleto and Falterona, and beyond ; it is pretty certain that Perugia was in existence at this time. What happened in the north was of far-reaching consequence. Shortly after 600 B.C., a colony was founded at Fiesole, on a height overlooking what is now Florence. From this point an advance was made over the Apennines, and towards the end of the century settlements were planted at the northern end of the pass—*Felsina* (Bologna), where the plains begin, and the sentinel town nearer the mountains which later was called Marzabotto, and probably was the Etruscan *Misa*.

These were the pioneer cities of Etruria '*circum-padana*', which was to spread far over the northern plains and within which arose in course of time Mantua, Piacenza, Modena, Parma, and, farthest north of all, Melpo, near Milan. Finally, on the Adriatic coast, Adria and Spina grew into busy seaports. On the Tyrrhenian coast territory was added in the north, at least as far as Luna.

This is the century for which there appear to be authentic grounds for believing in Etruscan domination in Rome. Between 623 B.C. and 510 B.C. the city is said to have been ruled by a succession of three Etruscan kings—Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and Tarquinius Superbus (Tarquinius is the Etruscan *Tarchu*). These foreign rulers must have done great things for Rome. The genius of their hydraulic engineers was applied to draining the swamps between the city heights, and there still gapes on the bank of the Tiber the mouth of the *cloaca maxima*, the main discharge channel from the ground between the Capitol and the Palatine. It is certain also that Rome's chief temple was built according to Etruscan ritual rules and that its three *cellae* were dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, who were also the supreme deities of Etruria. Other Etruscan remains still existing in Rome have already been noticed. Some people say that the city's name was bestowed on it by Etruscan godparents: it was *Ruma*, 'the strong one'.

In 510 B.C. Tarquinius Superbus was driven out of Rome and a republic was instituted. Porsenna, King of Clusium, came to the aid of Tarquinius, defeated the Romans, and for a time held sway in Rome, though the kingship was not revived.

We become aware then of the tremendous fact that

at the end of the sixth century the Etruscan dominion was nearly co-extensive with the Italian peninsula. With what possibilities for the future was this domination fraught ! But very soon fate threw the wheel of victory round with a bewildering swing : United Italy was not to be Etruscan.

Etruria gradually promulgated a definite foreign policy, allying itself in its interests abroad with the Carthaginians against the Greeks of Campania, Sicily, and Corsica. As a consequence of the crushing pressure of the Persian advance westwards over Asia Minor many Ionians fled from the coasts and islands and joined their relations in the western Mediterranean. Corsica was one of the places where Greek strength became very great—great enough to be regarded by the Etruscans as a menace to their freedom on the seas. They could not afford to ignore this danger, for it was commerce which gave them their position as one of the great States of the Mediterranean. They set themselves therefore to the business of curbing Greek ambition in Corsica, and the ultimate result of the war in which they engaged was the acquisition of the island and the establishment in it of an Etruscan colony.

By 500 B.C. Etruria embraced all Italy except the extreme north and south and the coastal belt east of the Apennines. She had attained the mountain-peak of her political supremacy. We shall see with what incredible swiftness she ran down the steep of failure.

The passion for colonization was one expression of the abounding vitality of the people during the sixth century. Their home-activities were equally brilliant in their manifestations. Trade, import and export, thrived amazingly, bringing in its wake not only wealth

but many fresh impulses towards artistic expression. The old Cypro-Phoenician trafficking was gradually superseded by the growing commercial connexions with Greece, where Athens was now assuming the lead in art. Greek merchandise in thrilling profusion was pouring into Italy throughout the century ; at first the Ionic style had the best market ; later Attic took the first place. Far the most precious cargoes consisted of the painted terra-cotta vases, no longer mere receptacles designed for everyday use but works of art signed by great masters. The noted 'François' vase is an example. Another fact that must be borne in mind is that Greek artists and craftsmen came into Etruria and settled there, apparently in considerable numbers. Return cargoes to Greece included sandals, trumpets, and bronzes of many a kind—tripods, candelabra, cauldrons.

There was a great output of small articles of luxury, in which the workmanship was excellent ; such were the gold jewellery, the decorated bronze mirrors, and the dainty bronze statuettes, the much-prized *tyrrhena sigilla* of the Romans of the Empire. The *situla* of Certosa (p. 103) belongs to this time, and also the magnificent bronze chariot found at Monteleone near Spoleto. Chiusi was still making canopics, and was excelling in superb creations of *bucchero nero*, of which fine collections are housed in the museums of Florence and Chiusi, and a representative selection in the British Museum.

Sculpture, as we ascertain from sarcophagi and other burial monuments, shows the best qualities of pure Etruscan genius—movement, sincerity, life. Some details concerning it are given on pages 110–115. The material employed was terra-cotta or local stone.

This was the time when Veii was a glowing star in the world of art, when she was carrying out commissions for the building and sculptural adornment of Roman temples as well as creating marvellous groups of terra-cotta statuary for her own beautification.

Tarquinius was filling tomb after tomb with frescoes, most of which were thoroughly national in feeling and execution. They reflect in their vivacious scenes the spirit of bounding vigour and glorious hopefulness which filled the people : even death could not daunt them.

As in her territorial domination, so in her art and her industry, in her luxurious living and her cheerful dying, Etruria reached the apex of her greatness about the end of this wonderful century.

CHAPTER XV

THE HISTORY OF THE ETRUSCANS (*continued*)

FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

FOR Etruria this proved to be nearly a hundred years of continuous strife accompanied by the progressive decay of national morale. The first quarter of the century may be regarded as part of the preceding era of greatness ; then the disasters began.

Rome had fastened upon Etruria with that bulldog grip which she never relinquished until she had worried her old conqueror to death. No sooner was she free from the Etruscan yoke (about 500 B.C.) than she set about preparing yokes for others. In 499 B.C. (or 496 B.C.) she defeated the united Latin tribes in the battle of Lake Regillus. That was followed by a compact with these people which made Rome the virtual leader of a League of the Latins, thus forming a hostile block within Etruscan territory. Very soon Rome found grounds for a quarrel with Etruscan Veii, and for eighty years or so the two were intermittently at war, victory on its pendulum swinging first to one side, then to the other. As we have already seen, the last honours fell to Rome in 396 B.C., when Veii ceased to be.

In 474 B.C. the Etruscans were dealt a deadly blow by another enemy. They had gone to war with the Greek colony of Cumae. Hieron of Syracuse came to the assistance of Cumae, and the Etruscans were heavily defeated on sea near that town. The Greek triumph was widely celebrated ; Pindar made it the subject of the first Pythian ode, and Hieron sent

thanksgivings to Olympian Zeus. One item amongst the offerings presented to the great god we may gaze upon in a London museum ; it is a plain metal helmet, inscribed in Greek with the record of Hieron's victory.

The next catastrophe befell the country in 438 B.C. (or 423 B.C.), when the warrior Samnites came down from their mountains and wrested Capua from the Etruscans ; that meant the loss of Campania.

The sudden military downfall of the nation proclaimed by these terrible disasters can be explained only by a total lack of penetrating and comprehensive vision in the councils of the cities of the Confederacy. As far as Veii's wars tell a tale her men were both daring and tenacious fighters. But what were Caere and Tarquinia and all the rest of them doing during her ten years' siege ? Their prince-rulers must have been afflicted with intense stupidity or profound lethargy in that they failed to see that the welfare of the individual State must be the concern of the League of States, and more especially so when the State in question was a bulwark on the country's frontier, as Veii was. Now we see Etruria growing lax, extending in no direction, losing her grip on her allied and her absorbed peoples, her constituent cities quite content to stand in isolation rather than weld themselves into a nation. Meanwhile Rome is waxing strong through her struggles, hardening herself in her wars with Latins, Sabines, Volsci, Etruscans. Even the internal fighting between patrician and plebeian leaves her more virile, having taught her people the need for laws and strict observance of laws. With many throes there evolves the Roman Republic ; pride of country, patriotism, becomes a driving national principle. Till about 450 B.C. the headway which Rome made against the pack

of enemies who surrounded her was slow ; but during the succeeding fifty years she swooped onwards swift and sure as the eagle.

The conflict with the Greeks placed a severe check on Etruria's commercial intercourse with their country, and within Etruria proper decadence in art and industry soon became apparent ; it was a pitiful falling away from the brilliant promise of the immediate past. And what a bitter contrast to Greece, fighting off the Persian hosts, perfecting her ideals in art, consumed with the ardour of her devotion to her city-states, dowering her Athens with a glory which was to shine through all the centuries to come. In Etruria no freshness of inspiration, no high merit in the work of men's hands. The mural paintings in the tombs have lost their verve ; the skill of the architect and the energy of the labourer are turned to the task of replacing the old earthen ramparts of the towns with walls of stone !

Etruria north of the Apennines changed very rapidly. The substitution of the Etruscan for the Villanovan type of civilization was accomplished well within this century.

FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

This period opened with two tragedies in Etruscan history. In 396 B.C. Veii, in the extreme south, succumbed to Rome. On the very same day—so we are told—Melpo, the city standing farthest north on the plains, fell into the hands of the Gallic hordes who had descended from the Alpine passes. District by district Etruria '*circumpadana*' was taken possession of by these invaders. Felsina yielded probably about

350 B.C., and thenceforward territories which had looked to her as a capital went to constitute a Gallic province, Cisalpine Gaul. Soon after their first appearance the Gauls crossed the Apennines, their first objective being Clusium, of whose wealth they had heard great accounts. But new tales reached their ears about Rome and induced them to extend their incursion; it was a somewhat mischievous trick of fate that sent the Gallic plunderers into Rome less than six years after she had blotted out Veii from the earth.

Renewed warfare between Rome and Etruria ended in the defeat of Caere in 353 B.C., when that city was compelled to sever her connexion with the Etruscan League. There ensued a lull in the strife between the two nations till attacks on Rome began again in 311 B.C., and this time the whole League awoke to its danger and took the field, joining forces with Umbri and Gauls. It was a fierce trial for Rome, but she met it with her usual aggressive boldness. Part of her army embarked upon what was regarded as a hazardous undertaking by the Romans, namely, the passage through the so-called trackless Ciminian forest and the daring venture into the unknown land beyond it. Even to-day the steep mountain ridge that approaches within a few miles of Viterbo takes an attribute of forbidding gloom from the dark woods in which it is enveloped. What vestiges of woodland exist now give no idea of the thick, vast woods of those other times—'impenetrable and horrible', according to Latin writers. The groves at their best were often feared because of the gods who might be lurking in them, much more these dark-forested hills. However, a way was found through the many miles of the Ciminian forest, and on emerging from it the armies found

themselves in pleasant, well-cultivated country. They marched up the wide plains bordering the Tiber to the very walls of Perugia. There they defeated the forces which had come to the defence of that city. In the battle of Sentino, 295 B.C., Umbri and Gauls were overthrown, and in a few years Perugia, Volsinii, and Arezzo made their peace with the conquerors.

As on land, so on sea, trouble came to Etruria. Late in the century Corsica was lost, passing into the hands of Syracuse; this seriously imperilled the maritime standing of the country.

We get a surprise when we turn from this grievous political record to the artistic story of the time, for it is marked by a wonderful renaissance of native art. This was specially manifested in the fine terra-cotta decorations used in many of the temples (which now, by the way, were often built of stone). Of very high merit also, and produced in tremendous quantities, were the painted ceramics, a very special industry in Falerii. Of great distinction were the *cistae* and mirrors of Praeneste, and the makers of bronzetti were still ingenious and skilful.

As we have seen already, the atmosphere of the pictures in the tombs became about this time charged with gloom and ugliness.

THIRD CENTURY B.C.

Rome occupies the front of the stage now, and this was a breathless century for her. She fought her way from point to point in the peninsula against odds often so appalling that her very survival seemed unlikely. A coalition against her of Etruscans and Gauls (299-298 B.C.) failed; Vulci and Caere paid heavy

penalties for this. At the same time the Roman armies were facing the Samnites and Sabines. Another affair was in progress with the Greeks of South Italy ; Rome was successful in the end and she acquired Tarentum. By 269 B.C. she was practically supreme in Italy south of a line drawn from the Arno eastwards. In 265 B.C. Rome was asked to intervene (a new departure) on behalf of the Etruscan princes of Volsinii, who had been overmastered by rebellious slaves. The result was the restoration of the Etruscan ruling class, but on condition that the population should move to a new city, *Volsinii novi*, which the Romans astutely located in the lowly plains of Bolsena.

From settling, in a manner very gratifying to themselves, domestic disputes in Volsinii, the Romans turned to meet a foe of another quality—the Carthaginians, who were now very powerful. From 264 B.C. to 241 B.C. raged the first Punic war, which left Rome the victor with Sicily added to her domains. During the twenty-odd years that elapsed between the first and the second Punic wars Rome never rested. First of all she sent a punitive expedition against Falerii, and this fortress-town was laid in ruins. Then she proceeded with her programme of road-building. Did the Etruscans teach her how to make her everlasting roads, or was she in this a real originator ? She certainly realized very early how vital were good highways to her schemes for conquering and holding the country. The *Via Appia* had been begun in 312 B.C. The roads of the third century were directed towards Cisalpine Gaul as an objective. The *Via Aurelia* (241 B.C.) was driven through the districts first settled by the Tyrrheni, by way of Cosa to Pisa ; the *Via Claudia* (c. 225 B.C.), farther inland, ran from Veii

to Vetulonia and thence to join the Via Aurelia. According to some authorities the Via Claudia was begun in the fourth century. The *Via Flaminia* dates from 220 B.C., when the censor C. Flaminius carried it as a military line of communication over the Apennines to Rimini on the Adriatic coast ; in the second century it was continued as the *Via Emilia* through the valley of the Po to Placentia. A later road, the *Via Cassia*, starting from Rome, swept round into upper Umbria, touching Veii, Chiusi, Arezzo, Florence, Luna.

Roman road-making was at that time only an accessory to Roman war, and that was proceeding all the while. In 227 B.C. Corsica and Sardinia were won and organized as Roman provinces. A second Gallic invasion broke over central Italy in 225 B.C. Victorious at first, the Gauls were overthrown finally at Talamone, after which the way into the valley of the Po along the west coast lay open to the Romans ; within a few years there were Roman colonies in Piacenza and Cremona, to be followed by many others.

Then broke out the second Punic war (218-202 B.C.), and Etruria again became a war-theatre ; this time her armies figured as the helpers of Rome, furnishing war-material of every kind ; examples of those contributions included corn from Caere, iron from Populonia, armour from Arezzo, timber and grain from Perugia.

Hannibal and his Africans, as we know, made their attack from the north. Old Cortona must have looked down anxiously from her battlemented walls on the massing of the rival armies on the heights and plains round Lake Trasimene, where in 217 B.C. Hannibal routed Rome. Rome, of course, was the victor at the end of the years of struggle, and Carthage had to give up Spain.

The perpetual warfare outlined above was bound to play havoc with industry and art in Etruria, and we can feel that all this time the nation was losing its individuality and sinking deeper into dullness and self-indulgence. Hellenism, badly imitated, was the keynote to the art of the period ; only in coroplastics was there retained originality in style or superiority in workmanship. We see jewellery abundant but coarse, pottery-makers working from designs intended for metal, deadly monotony in the shapes of cinerary urns, the disappearance of every artistic quality from the sepulchres.

SECOND CENTURY B.C.

The history of Etruria is for us a blank between 200 B.C. and 91 B.C., when she reappears fighting as the ally of Rome, upon whom she must have been completely dependent. Rome was growing still mightier. She took advantage of openings in the eastern Mediterranean, and succeeded in turning Macedonia and Greece into Roman provinces. She annihilated Carthage in the third Punic war (149-146 B.C.). As vast as her territorial power were her wealth and her arrogance.

By long-drawn-out stages Etruria was dying, her spirit weakening through indolence, being suffocated by the abounding vitality of Greece and Rome. For her art she could find no subjects but Greek myths, into which she introduced harshly incongruous motives of Etruscan superstition. The funeral statuary was either a pompous attempt at Greek idealism, as in the *Thanunia Seianti* statue in London (p. 151) or a piece of native grossness like the body of the *obesus etruscus*

at Chiusi. Painting the walls of tombs died out before 100 B.C. ; Tarquinia did the last of it, and the work was exceedingly poor. Generally speaking, the people seem to have lost interest in their future abodes. The *Tomb of the Volumni* at Perugia is an unusually meritorious exception belonging to these years, and in it we find predominating Greek subjects associated with the treatment which is assigned to the early Roman.

Work in metal, as displayed in minor objects, was in a deplorable state of decay, and the terra-cottas of the temples were no longer great. One bronze masterpiece, the *Arringatore*, glorifies this desert ; some place it, however, early in the third century. If it was pure Etruscan it was an isolated miracle of genius in the midst of abject art-poverty. We recognize in it a superb forecast of the work of the early Roman sculptors.

FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Roman rulers quarrelled among themselves, and because several Etruscan cities sided with Marius, the opponent of the dictator Sulla, they were made to suffer grievously. It was as part of this punishment that Roman military colonies were imposed on Fiesole, Florence, Arezzo, and Volterra ; that theatre the remains of which can still be seen at Fiesole, was very likely built by Sulla's veterans.

In the last recorded historical scene of all appears Perugia. Her people gave refuge to L. Antonius, brother of Mark Antony, when he was pursued by Octavian. During the winter of 41-40 B.C. the city was besieged by Roman troops. Famine drove the citizens to surrender, and the way the great victor took his revenge was an instance of as gross brutality

as ever Etruscans have had laid to their charge. Octavian pardoned L. Antonius and his supporters on what seemed the unfair and cruel condition that three hundred senators of the city should be given up to him for execution. No pleas for mercy could induce him to relent, and the victims were slaughtered before altars erected in Perugia with all the ceremonial pertaining to Roman sacrifices—the youthful tyrant a frigid spectator. The place was destined next for pillage and fire. But Cestio the Perugian, known as the Macedonian because of his valour in foreign war, could not tolerate the thought of such indignity, and his was the hand that forestalled the Roman and raised the conflagration which snatched from the conqueror the fruits of his triumph.

Etruscan art died out within the first decades of this century, and by the time of Augustus the Etruscan nation had vanished. As the Umbri had been absorbed by the Tyrrheni, so were the Etruscans absorbed by the Romans. When Augustus divided up his Italy into provinces he included Etruria as Region VII. Language and ritual lingered on for centuries after the nation was extinct. The ceremonial laws appealed to the Roman temperament, and the emperors for a long time maintained Etruscan soothsayers in their train and consulted them in great crises. The Emperor Claudius was an enthusiast for what was left in his time of Etruscan things and wrote voluminously about them ; what revelations if some of his twenty books should be discovered !

CHAPTER XVI

ETRURIA AND ROME

WHAT place in European history should be allotted to this people who came so secretly out of the mists and crept back again into the mists, whose existence as a nation measures itself within a few hundreds of years? Not for a moment are we justified in regarding their passage across the history of Italy as a detached interlude, as the dropping of a stone into the river of years, the waters of which close over it and flow on as before. Rather is it a case of a scientific species of organism appearing in the line of evolution of European nationalities, having taken origin from other species, interacting with its contemporaries, and, above all, transmitting to far scattered and diversified generations of descendants its very life-blood. That vitalizing stream, throughout all the Christian era, has been nourishing in ways which are being more and more justly appreciated the genius of the Italian race. The increasing interest taken in Italy in this lost but still potent people is therefore understandable. Further, Roman Italy fixed the destiny of much of southern and western Europe; hence, in addition to the scholar's innate craving after truth as an abstraction, there is close personal interest to arouse the curiosity of many a non-Italian.

The field of investigation may be explored by putting a few hypothetical questions and seeking for answers to them amongst the information we possess concerning the Etruscans and the nations whose history touched theirs directly.

In the first place, how would the development of the Italian peninsula have been affected if the Tyrrheni had never entered into possession there at all? The most momentous factor in the problem, if we accept the theory that the original fatherland of the Tyrrheni lay somewhere in Asia Minor, is that these migrants were bound to act like an electrifying stimulus on the native Italian tribes amongst whom they settled and whom they swept into their constitution, as, by degrees, it took shape. They had been bred in a land of complex civilizations, they had drunk from fountains filled with the mingled cultures of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, and the coasts and isles of the Aegean. They came to a country where simple communities were moving forward contentedly but sluggishly. As far as one can form an estimate the pace of these natives would not have quickened greatly without the drive of some external force. The two alternatives touching the general constitution of the country which might have operated if no Etruscan nation had grown up in the centre of it were, either that the Greek settlements would have spread more extensively, impressing their culture on that of the Umbri, or that central Italy would have had as a basis for the future a comparatively unmixed population with a constitution of no distinguished character or forceful vitality. If the former alternative had accrued, and if Rome had managed to grow to the stature of a State, then Rome would have been more decidedly and at an earlier date stamped with the Greek die; there might have arisen a Greco-Roman Italy. If, on the other hand, the Greeks had remained unobtrusive, then Rome would have obtained through her conquest of Italian tribes only a poor and backward country. The Etruscans nurtured Italy for

the Romans. The Tyrrheni introduced the high proficiency in husbandry and in metal-working which was peculiarly characteristic of the near East ; they were, too, for their time, venturesome sailors and enterprising traders. In not one of these directions had the Umbri distinguished themselves, and for none of them had the Romans any particular bent. Rome, indeed, was so little interested in agriculture that she soon allowed the lands reclaimed and made richly productive by the Etruscans—more particularly the Maremma and the Val di Chiana—to fall back into their original state of malarial swamps. She did not manufacture, and she rather despised trade. Therefore, by comparison with that Etruria which the Romans did wrest from the descendants of the Tyrrheni, a purely native Italy would have been of small account in the busy, quickly-changing Mediterranean world of the centuries before Christ.

Etruria influenced Rome directly by modifying her outlook, her customs, and her beliefs. In the last centuries of the national history of Etruria there appears to have been very extensive intercourse between Rome and certain Etruscan States. Perugia was spoken of, at one time, as the ‘ consort ’ of Rome, and on Perugian monuments Roman and Etruscan names are mixed up in some confusion. One conspicuous trait in Roman national character, as it was equally in Etruscan, was an acute perception of those strong points in her neighbours which were likely to be profitable to herself, as well as a faculty for assimilation which enabled her quickly to make them her own. Rome took from Etruria the practical ideas which suited her own thoroughly practical mind ; she took lessons in the making of bridges and aqueducts ; she

learnt how to build rounded arches and vaulted roofs ; she adopted Etruscan plans for her temples and her dwellings.

The realism indigenous to Etruscan art was more akin to Rome's own spirit than was the idealism of the Greek, and the essence of it reappears in the portrait-statuary which has sometimes been mistakenly regarded as a Roman creation.

The matter-of-fact, well-organized superstition of the *disciplina etrusca*, with its inculcation of unquestioning obedience, suited Rome perfectly ; the Romans must have taken over the complete code, sending their patrician lads to be coached in the understanding of it by Etruscan tutors, and regulating their public doings by the advice of the diviners for long years after Etruria had dissolved even beyond a name. When Rome was about to found a city she chose the spot on which to place it and outlined the boundaries of it in accordance with Etruscan practices. The ancient threefold Roman tribal divisions—Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres—had, according to some authorities, their Etruscan parallels, and in the social life of Rome woman held a position in many respects similar to that of the woman in Etruria.

In a barbaric and extravagant love of pompous display the Etruscan and the Roman were remarkably alike. It is no wonder therefore that the ruder Roman, having no splendours to look back to in his tribal history, welcomed with immense delight the spectacular luxury which was in part an Eastern inheritance of the children of the Tyrrheni. We have seen in previous chapters how the Roman imitated nearly every detail in the processional arrangements. The hero in a Roman triumph dressed and adorned himself almost

exactly as an Etruscan prince would have done—purple toga, gold-embroidered tunic, wreath and *bullā* of gold, in his hand an ivory sceptre surmounted by an eagle. Thus the very standard of Rome was not of her own devising. Many of the events in the public games practised in Rome originated in Etruria; possibly the gladiatorial shows came by that route, even if they did not have their origin there.

Judicial ceremonial in the conquered country also served as a guide to the Roman conqueror. Vetulonia is specified in ancient writings as the place from which Rome acquired its lictors and their *fascēs*, the ivory curule chair of the chief magistrate, the judge's official purple-bordered robe, the trumpeter-heralds, and various other accompaniments of the proceedings in a court of justice. Very precious indeed, as proof confirming written references, was the relic found in a grave in Vetulonia, the *Tomb of the Lictor*; this was an actual *fascēs et securis* of the seventh century, a double-headed iron axe round which were bound eight hollow rods of iron, rods and axe being the symbols of authority to strike and to kill. The *lituus*, the curved rod of the augurs, also passed into Roman service, becoming part of the equipment of a Roman diviner when he was conducting auspices. *Bullā* and bordered toga were adopted for more general use amongst noble Roman families, where also were to be seen, on various occasions, modified forms of the *tutulus*, which had been the common head-covering of Etruscan women.

The above pages give some slight indication of the obligations incurred by Rome to Etruria, and a strange picture she would present to us if shorn of her borrowings—a Rome, in some measure, without her engineering secrets, without her ritualism, without

her gorgeous shows, a Rome faced with the task of making a kingdom out of the semi-civilized native races of Italy.

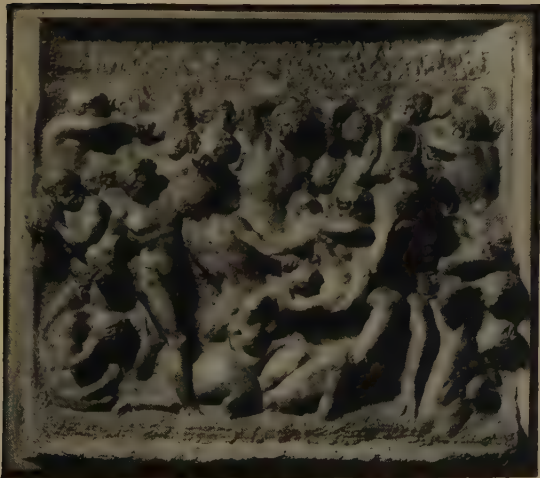
One may ask now how great has been the value of the legacy the Etruscans left to Italy, independent of that which passed to her by way of Rome. Its effect should be most readily discernible in the province which is nearly co-extensive with Etruria proper, that is, in Tuscany, along with which may be included a western strip of modern Umbria. No other part of Italy and very few other parts of the world can chronicle such a roll of giants—surpassingly grand in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, in literature, in science. Raphael, Fra Angelico, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Ghiberti, Giotto, Brunelleschi, Arnolfo da Cambio, Dante, Machiavelli, Galileo, are illustrious amongst scores of others who are great. As we travel from town to town in Tuscany and Umbria we marvel afresh in every place at the universal splendour which art attains in all its branches. Perugia and Gubbio are amongst those rich in exquisite wood-carving; Pisa and Siena have each one of the pulpits of Nicola and Giovanni, the Pisans; Orvieto's cathedral front is surely the most wonderful possible combination of glowing harmonious colours and elegant and dignified architecture; Perugia has its graceful fountain and its fine Gothic *Palazzo dei Priori*; illuminated manuscripts and old books of rare beauty surprise us in small provincial libraries. Above all, everywhere, in the tiniest of village churches and in the greatest cathedrals and picture-galleries, are hosts of pictures. The very existence of the great schools of painting is the outcome of a love of art amongst all classes stimulating the gifted few into a glorious outpouring of their genius.

So we have scattered through the length and breadth of central Italy countless lovely works from Duccio of Siena, the Lorenzettis, Bonfigli, Pinturicchio, Vannucci the Perugino, and the whole Florentine line of artists from Cimabue to del Sarto. Some of these men were bred among the mountains, most of them travelled about over hill and plain, leaving each place of sojourn wealthy for the centuries to come, a custodian of treasure to be handed down to every lover of beauty. Again Rome was the gainer by the genius of those who were not of her rearing. There is no need to enumerate the splendours which Raphael and Michelangelo bestowed on that city; these two were the greatest, but there were others who came and gave—Perugino, Pinturicchio, Giotto, Signorelli, and many more.

There are many Etruscan enthusiasts who see in all this abounding fervour of Italian art some strain transmitted from those who, in old Etruria, dreamt of beauty and did their best to give expression to it. From the simple perfection of the vault of San Manno to the soaring grandeur of the dome of the Florentine Duomo, from the archaic frescoes of the tombs to the Sistine Chapel and the Stanze of Raphael, from the primitive sculptor of Chianciana to the Michelangelo, what a long marching, what countless attempts to give to the world the thoughts throbbing in men's minds, what failures; and passing from generation to generation the ancient spirit, growing fuller and more mellow, compound of the Tyrrhene east, the Roman west, with something also of Villanovan and Greek in its flavouring. Instead of the trading Lucumons of eighth-century Caere, the Middle Ages had their Florence, whose merchants were princes, proud to make of their city a princely place of business. Siena, perched high



STATUE-URN, FROM CHIANCIANO
(See p. 148)



BAS-RELIEF BY MICHELANGELO
(See p. 225)



on its arid rocks, rang for days with shouts of exultation when in A.D. 1343 there was accomplished the great engineering feat of bringing copious, spouting waters to her new fountain from distant hills. Surely they were the echoes of Etruscan cries sent up when the waters of Burano first gushed through the channel hewn for them to reach the sea, or when the Veientes were rejoicing over the completion of their Ponte Sodo.

Whilst we may theorize about generalities, of direct influence there is little proof; still, without making determinate statements one may wonder if some of the objects excavated from Etruscan graves did not help to feed the genius of Michelangelo. We know that a fair number of them had been discovered before his death in 1564; the Minerva was in Florence, the bronze wolf stood on the Campidoglio, the Chimaera had been disinterred at Arezzo. Who knows how many funeral urns and sarcophagi which are now lost had come under the eye of the master sculptor? Etruscan remains of various kinds were not uncommon in places within a few miles of Florence, and between Florence and Siena, whilst Volterra with its hundreds of tombs was not far distant. One cannot look at the Chianciana statue or at the Perugian urn on which two combatants—supposed to be Mars and Apollo—are straining their tremendous muscles, without being reminded of the Buonarroti's powerful rendering of the human figure. A small slab, now in the private collection of the Casa Buonarroti in Florence, has been pointed out by some one as possessing the dimensions commonly found on the front face of Etruscan ossuaries, and as being covered in the same style as many of the later urns with a medley of struggling figures—the presumption

being attached that Michelangelo got at least a hint of the idea for his composition from such an urn. There is no trace of copyist or beginner in this wonderful little sculpture, wrought by the lad not yet twenty, of whom it might well be said that 'in his art he had no infancy'. Into his terrific combat of Lapiths and Centaurs he has compressed a maximum of force, of tense movement of virile bodies, of crude battle-lust. All this is of course far superior to anything Etruscan, but nevertheless in its sense of treatment one may detect some ground for comparison. Amongst the sculptor's sketches has been found a drawing of a human face surmounted by an animal mask, strongly resembling the wolf-helmet worn by Hades in the Orco and Velii tombs. Perhaps the artist had seen a tomb-painting having this subject introduced. In this connexion one may also recall the Lorenzo figure in the Medici Chapel, where the man's thoughtful face is overshadowed by a helmet designed from the head of a beast.

The interest of the Buonarroti family in Etruscan antiquities is well authenticated, and persisted throughout several generations. During the closing years of the seventeenth century Filippo Buonarroti, a senator of Florence, was very active in his investigations, noting inscriptions near Siena, finding urns and *cippi* near Toscanella. Evidently he inherited his antiquarian taste, for one of the heirlooms handed down to him with the ancestral home in the Via Ghibellina was the stele of *Larth Aninie*, found in Fiesole, now one of the important possessions of the Archaeological Museum in Florence. When, in 1723-4, the Etruscan manuscripts of Sir Thomas Dempster (1616-1619) were published through the generosity of Thomas Coke,

Earl of Leicester, Filippo Buonarroti added a substantial volume of his own 'conjectures' and illustrations, dealing with religion, war, music, and games.

Etruria was swallowed up in Rome: it may now be asked, 'What if this performance had been reversed?' What difference would it have made to Italy—and to Europe—if Etruria had finally prevailed against Rome? The essence of the answer must be sought in the fundamental differences between the two races. Of one result we may be certain—an Etruscan Italy would

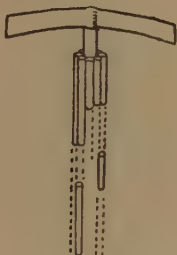


FIG. 14

FASCES ET SECURIS

Found in Vetulonia, now in Archaeological
Museum, Florence (after Montélius)

never have fared forth east and west, north and south, fighting, conquering, adding province to province till great part of a continent looked to her as mistress. The Roman was by nature a fighter, insatiable for the spoils and glory of war; the Etruscan was not. That being so, Asia Minor and all that Europe which changed so materially under the domination of Rome, would have been left to work out their own destinies, and what that would have meant in politics, culture, law, and language is beyond all conjecture.

Speaking of the combination of sources which have ministered to the greatness of Italy, Bartolomeo Nogara says : ' And so there is demonstrated once again, how in this world nothing truly great is the fruit of solitary action : but is the result of a wide and wise collaboration, in which, under a common director, every man holds his own special post and seeks out and accomplishes his own individual task.¹

¹ *Etruria e Roma*, 1922.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LIST OF PROPER NAMES AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS

MODERN		LATIN	ETRUSCAN
Ansedonia . .		Cosa and Cosae	? Coza
Arezzo . .		Arretium .	—
Bieda . .		Blera . .	—
Bologna . .		Bononia .	Felsina
Bolsena . .		Volsinii Novi	—
Bomarzo . .		Polimartium	—
Calcata . .		Narce . .	—
Castel d'Asso .		Castellum Axia	—
Cerveteri . .		Caere (Vetus)	(Greek, Agylla)
Chiusi . .		Clusium .	Chamars or Camars
Civita Castellana		Falerii Veteres	—
Cortona . .		Cortona .	? Curtuna or Cur- tun
Fiesole . .		Faesulae .	—
Marzabotto .		— .	? Misa
Norchia . .		? Orcle .	—
Orvieto . .		Volsinii Veteres	Velsu or Velzna
Palestrina . .		Praeneste .	—
Perugia . .		Perusia .	—
Pian di Voce .		Vulci or Volci	—
Populonia . .		Populonia .	Fufluna or Pup- luna
Roma . .		Roma . .	Ruma
Roselle . .		Rusellae .	—
Santa Severa .		Pyrgi . .	—

Saturnia . . .	Saturnia . . .	? Aurinia
Sovana . . .	Suana . . .	—
Sutri . . .	Sutrium . . .	—
Talamone . . .	Telamon . . .	Tlamu
Tarquinia (formerly Corneto)	Tarquinius . . .	—
Tuscania (formerly Toscanella)	Tuscania . . .	—
Veio . . .	Veii . . .	—
Vetulonia . . .	Vetulonia . . .	Vetalu, Vetluna, or Vatluna
Volterra . . .	Volaterrae . . .	Velathri

APPENDIX II

ETRUSCAN SITES

ONLY general directions for reaching the principal sites are given ; details can be obtained from one of the many offices of the ' *Compania Italiana Turismo* ' (' C.I.T. '); well-known places, e.g. Perugia, are not included. The modern forms of names are those used here. The *Orario Generale* (price 5 lire) gives well-arranged information about train, tramway (i.e. light railway), and autobus services. Travelling facilities have improved immensely during the last few years.

ANSEDONIA.—Reached by way of Orbetello station on Rome-Pisa line. Carriage-road part of the way, footpaths for the rest.

BETTONA.—A few miles from Perugia.

CASTEL D'ASSO.—Situated five miles west of Viterbo. Carriage-road, then on foot within the ravines.

CERVETERI.—About five miles from railway station of Palo, which is about thirty miles from Rome on Rome-Pisa route. Autobus service between town and station. Can be reached comfortably from Rome by motor. Possible to sleep in Civita Vecchia, travel to Palo by early morning train, spend day in Cerveteri, and go on by evening train to Rome. Visiting the necropolis involves a walk of about two miles from the modern village ; guide supplied at the office of the excavations at the necropolis. The Regolini-Galassi tomb stands by itself about half a mile from the village, near the Bracciano road ; application to visit it must be made at the wineshop of Pietro Valeri, in the village.

CHIUSI.—A little over a mile from the station of Chiusi-Bagni di Chianciana on Rome-Florence line. Autobus between town and station. The tombs are scattered on the

hills ; arrangements for visiting may be made through the curator of the museum at Chiusi ; a guide is required, and a motor can be used for some part of the travelling. In a long day-excursion from Perugia, by motor, it is possible to see the museum and the three principal tombs at Chiusi.

CORTONA.—On a hill three miles from the station of the same name on the Rome-Florence line. Terontolo station, a few miles distant (junction for branch line to Perugia) is more convenient for visiting Cortona ; expresses stop there and buses connect the main trains with Cortona ; private motor-cars also procurable. Day-trip can be made from Perugia ; for directions consult 'Pro Umbria' tourist agency in Perugia.

MARZABOTTO.—About seventeen miles from Bologna on the route to Florence ; reached conveniently by train. The museum and the park of Count Aria's villa, with necropolis, etc., are open to the general public on certain days, reserved for students on other days (fee in both cases) ; advisable to send preliminary letter to secretary of 'Società Misa', Villa Aria, Marzabotto, Bologna.

NORCHIA.—In same district as Castel d'Asso, and, like it, somewhat difficult of access. Viterbo is the best starting-point, and motoring the most convenient mode of travel.

ORVIETO.—Station of same name on the Rome-Florence line, at the foot of the hill ; funicular and autobus from station to town. May be visited in one day, by motor, from Perugia. For custodian of museum, apply Armoni, the photographer's shop, in Piazza del Duomo. Necropolis of Crocifisso del Tufo (p. 10) is at the foot of the cliffs. The painted tombs are on adjacent hills ; for admission apply to government official at 3 Via delle Scalette, near the Piazza del Duomo.

POPULONIA.—May be reached by motor from Grosseto, a station on Rome-Pisa line. The ruins are about four miles from modern Populonia, a station on local line from Campiglia-Marittima (main line) to Piombino.

SAN MANNO.—To be visited from Perugia. Tram may be taken down to railway station ; thence walk—about a mile—to the tomb.

TARQUINIA (formerly CORNETO).—The modern town is about two miles from the railway station of Tarquinia on the Rome-Pisa line, about sixty miles from Rome ; an autobus service connects town and station. It may be approached by a very interesting cross-country journey which brings the traveller close to many Etruscan sites. Leave Perugia station about 5 a.m. ; by train *via* Foligno, Spoleto, Terni, Orte, Bomarzo, Montefiascone, arriving at Viterbo before 11 a.m. Viterbo has Etruscan and Roman remains, and is one of the most typical medieval towns in Italy. A few hours at least may be spent here. Leave about 4 p.m. by motor-bus. The route passes through the plains and undulating land broken by the valleys in which lie the ruins of Norchia, Castel d'Asso, and other Etruscan towns. Tarquinia is reached between 7 and 8 p.m. Accommodation in Tarquinia is difficult to get, but Civita Vecchia is easily reached by train, and hotels there are good. The museum at Tarquinia furnishes a certified guide for the tombs. The gentlemen at the museum will be found most helpful.

TUSCANIA (formerly TOSCANELLA).—About fourteen miles from Viterbo, from which it can be reached by autobus.

VEIO.—About nine miles from Rome. Motor service from Rome (Piazza del Popolo) to Isola Farnese, a hamlet close to the site of the ancient city ; this route allows of only a short visit within the day. Either train from Trastevere station, or bus from Via Marsala may be taken to the village of La Storta, whence it is a pleasant walk over the meadows to Isola Farnese. The guide to the Campana tomb is to be sought at the inn on the Piazza at Isola Farnese.

VETULONIA.—About seven miles from Giuncarico on Rome-Pisa line ; motor-bus meets afternoon trains. May be reached by motor from Grosseto.

VOLTERRA.—Nearest station on the Rome-Pisa route is Cecina, from which runs local line. Best plan is to go by private motor or public autobus from Florence or Siena.

VULCI.—Nearest station on the Rome-Pisa line is Montalto di Castro, a little to the north of Tarquinia. Very difficult of access.

APPENDIX III

MUSEUMS

ONLY the most important collections which contain Etruscan material are included ; the most noteworthy objects are indicated, the reference numbers relating to pages in this book.

Admission to all *national* museums in Italy is now free ; papers of identification, e.g. passports, must be presented in order to obtain admission.

BOLOGNA : *Civic Museum*.—Material of supreme importance for comparison between the Villanovan and Etruscan (styled Certosa from the chief local cemetery) types of civilization, obtained mainly from graves in the neighbourhood of Bologna. The two most extensive cemeteries lay adjacent to each other, the Villanovan separated from the Certosa by a wide trench and an unused space. The Certosa burial ground contained 417 tombs.

Tombs, both for cremation and inhumation, have been transported to the museum and fitted up again, complete with tomb-furnishings of vases, weapons, utensils, jewellery. Four phases of Villanovan culture can be distinguished, and the transition from bronze to iron can be traced.

The funerary steles are extremely distinctive, of great size (one is 2.40 metres high), of peculiar shape, and covered with bands of sculptured scenes, one of which almost always shows the deceased on his journey to the next world ; they are both Villanovan and Etruscan (p. 113). Many remarkable *cippi*, the simplest being stone spheres of great size resting on rectangular bases (p. 114). Important temple terra-cottas from Civita Alba, Hellenistic Greek in style ; a great number of splendid Attic vases, from tombs, both black- and red-figured ; many good bronzes, the most famous being the Certosa *situla* (p. 101) ; votive

bronzes from Monte Guragazza (p. 103); candelabrum (p. 161). Reproductions of tomb paintings on walls of museum.

BOLOGNA: *Gozzadini Museum in Communal Library*.—Antiquities from Villanova.

BOLOGNA: *Museum of the R. Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell' Emilia*, Via Belle Arti, 52.—Material from Comacchio (p. 122).

CHIUSI: *Civic Museum*.—Many rectangular cinerary urns of fetid limestone bearing portrait-figures (p. 72); canopic ash-urns (p. 69); *cippi* (p. 114); many good examples of black bucchero (p. 119); Attic vases; sphinx (p. 112); fragment of an urn showing (?) wedding-ceremony (p. 154); a bronze balance in perfect condition.

CORTONA: *Museum of Etruscan Academy*.—Bronze lamp (p. 99).

FLORENCE: *R. Archaeological Museum*, Via della Colonna, 28.—(NOTE.—The three floors of this museum are opened to the public on three different days; inquiry should be made.) This is the most representative and the most informative of all Etruscan museums. The material is rich and is well displayed, the rooms on the ground floor constituting a topographical series, so that a comprehensive view of the culture of each region is possible. In the garden, reconstructions of typical tombs have been carried out, often with original material. On the top floor, the walls of a suite of rooms have been covered with facsimiles of tomb frescoes (Chapter IV).

In the Garden: Sepulchral lion of nenfro (p. 111); lion *cippus* from Settimello (p. 115); typical tombs with explanatory labels (p. 38).

In the Ground-Floor Rooms: Vase-urns, hut-urns, etc., of Villanovan age; the entire contents of the Vetulonian 'Tomb of the Prince' (p. 38); wall-case filled with material from the 'Circle of the Trident', including a wealth of metal-work (p. 129); magnificent bronze

cauldrons (*lebetes*) ; the *fascēs et securis* from the Vetulonian ' Tomb of the Lictor ' (p. 222) ; *kottabos*, with statuette of Silenus, from Vetulonia (p. 150) ; exquisite gold jewellery and carved ivories from Vetulonia and Marsiliana d'Albegna (p. 108) ; ivory writing-tablet bearing alphabet, from Marsiliana (p. 163) ; iron bedstead ; funeral steles of highest importance. In the Chiusi Room are the three great statuary urns (pp. 147-149) ; the Primoli ossuary (p. 119) ; a fine range of canopic jars (p. 118) ; *focolari* with their dishes (p. 148) ; carved ivory *situlae*. From Volterra comes a curious archaic urn (p. 119). In ' Volsinienses ', sculptured head of warrior on decorated column (p. 115). In ' Tarquinienses ', local Villanovan civilization is represented by black pottery, by numerous cremation urns often covered with helmets.

On the Upper Floors : Magnificent collection of bronzes, including the Orator, the Minerva, the Chimaera (p. 98) ; bronzetti in great variety, of special note being the Ajax and the soldier from Isola di Fano (p. 103) ; bronze *situlae*, candelabra, household utensils ; many sarcophagi, including that of *Larthia Seianti* (p. 152), of the Amazons (p. 67), of the *obesus etruscus* (p. 68) ; a plain stone chest from Orvieto ; many cinerary urns, some in the form of dwellings (pp. 71, 125) ; ram's head from Orvieto (p. 112) ; splendid groups of black bucchero pottery (p. 119) ; Greek and Greco-Etruscan vases, including the ' François Vase ' (p. 206) ; leaden disk from Magliano bearing spiral inscription (p. 176) ; copy of the *templum (fegato)* of Piacenza (p. 88).

FLORENCE : *Casa Buonarroti*, Via Ghibellina, 64. Private museum.—Sculptured slab (p. 225).

MARZABOTTO : Private museum in the *Villa Aria*.—Local objects (p. 31).

ORVIETO : Museum of the *Opera del Duomo*. Custodian, Armoni the photographer, corner of Piazza del Duomo.—Temple terra-cottas ; sculpture in stone ; fine painted sarcophagus from Torre S. Severo.

PALERMO: *National Museum*.—Special collection of antiquities from Chiusi.

PERUGIA: *Etrusco-Roman Museum* in Royal University. —Large number of Etruscan and Romano-Etruscan ash-chests, notable being the group of thirty inscribed rectangular urns belonging to the family *Rafia*, found in their original positions in one tomb (pp. 78, 184); coffin of tufa contains the skeleton of a woman, her jewels, mirror, vases (p. 155); a sarcophagus of nenfro bears a well-preserved bas-relief of a procession; sarcophagus from Chiusi with figures of deceased and a *Lasa* (p. 147); a circular base with sculptured subjects, from a tomb (p. 115); stele with two men in combat (p. 113); slab bearing the famous inscription (p. 115); two rectangular *cippi*, with reliefs of mourners (p. 115); good bronzes, especially a helmet, and incised mirrors; *kottabos*, nearly complete (p. 150); varied collection of jewellery (p. 109). Numerous reproductions of inscriptions; coloured drawings of pictures in the Tomb of the Velii (p. 61).

PERUGIA: *Museum of the Palazzone*, at the Tomb of Volumni (p. 77).—Scores of small cremation urns; *kottabos* in very good preservation; ornate examples of pottery of second century B.C.

PIACENZA: *Civic Museum*.—Bronze model of liver (*fegato*) (p. 88).

ROME: *National Museum of the Villa Giulia*, in the Villa of Pope Julius, half a mile outside the Porta del Popolo.—Receives most of the finds from southern Etruria; possesses much material from Caere and Veii which is not yet (1929) on exhibition. Most important architectural terra-cottas from Falerii, Narce, Satricum (p. 111); Apollo and other terra-cottas from temple at Veii (p. 110); sarcophagus with two portrait-statues from Caere (p. 139); sculptured representations of children (p. 161); vases from Falerii (p. 120); ivories, gold-work, and other contents of *Barberini* tomb at Palestrina; Castellani collection of magnificent gold jewellery; Ficoroni *cista* and

a variety of others (p. 103); archaic bronze group of ploughman and oxen (p. 141); centaur of nenfro from Vulci (p. 112); painted vases (p. 150); child's sandals (p. 160).

In the Grounds: Reproduction (partly accurate) of Etruscan temple (p. 83).

ROME: *Gregorian Museum at the Vatican*.—In one room are kept together all the contents of the *Regolini-Galassi* tomb (pp. 132–135); noted collection of vases from Vulci and elsewhere (p. 120); choice bronze tripods, candelabra, braziers, etc. (pp. 100–101); statue of Mars from Todi (pp. 93, 99); two statuettes of boys (p. 164); Adonis sarcophagus from Tuscania (p. 68); gold jewellery from Vulci; vase inscribed with alphabet (p. 163); sandals (p. 122); two dice bearing written numbers (p. 172).

ROME: *Prehistoric Museum (Pigorini)*, in the Palace of the Roman College.—Contents of the *Bernardini* tomb at Palestrina; carved ivories and wonderful gold-work.

ROME: *Capitoline Museum*.—Bronze wolf (p. 99); antiquities from Caere; terra-cottas from Via S. Gregorio, Rome (p. 111).

TARQUINIA: *National Museum*, in Palazzo Vitelleschi.—Many fine sarcophagi with striking portrait-statues and well-cut inscriptions (p. 69); beautiful polychrome tomb of the priest Velthur Partunus; a group of tomb-furnishings in which is included an Egyptian vase bearing the name of an Egyptian king of the eighth century B.C.; many painted Greek vases; Villanovan antiquities; many delightful little bronzes (p. 104).

New material is being brought in from recent excavations, e.g. (1929) a sarcophagus of coarse stone, with a band of sculptured animals; four great terra-cotta vases decorated with curious figures of deer and birds.

VOLTERRA: *Guarnacci Museum*.—Villanovan remains; hundreds of cinerary urns, mainly of alabaster (pp. 73, 162); terra-cotta urn with portrait-figures of two old people (p. 153); stele of *Aule Tite* (p. 113); money.

AGRAM : *National Museum*.—Mummy bands with inscription (pp. 169-170).

BERLIN : *National Museum*.—The most valuable exhibit is the terra-cotta tile from S. Maria di Capua ; it bears an inscription of about 300 words, in *boustrophedon* style of writing (p. 169).

COPENHAGEN : *Helbig Museum*, in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.—Facsimiles of Etruscan tomb-paintings ; terra-cottas from Caere.

LONDON : *British Museum*.—Of extreme importance are the contents of the Polledrara tomb of Vulci (pp. 136-137), described by Dennis, Vol. I, p. 439. In the basement is a facsimile of a painted grave-chamber at Bomarzo ; it contains the original sarcophagus of a priest (p. 71) ; it is described by Dennis, Vol. I, pp. 263, 271. Sarcophagus of *Thanunia Seianti* (p. 151) ; sarcophagus from Caere (p. 137) ; painted terra-cotta slabs from walls of tomb at Caere (compare with those in Paris), showing details of dress (p. 57) ; excellent examples of cinerary urns of many types—canopics, biconical jars, imitations of huts, ridged dwellings, temples (pp. 70-71) ; collection of typical sarcophagi of various dates, of rectangular ash-chests, and *cippi*, in a basement room (pp. 68, 73) ; temple terra-cottas from Civita Lavinia, a partial reconstruction shown (p. 111) ; bronze tripods, candelabra, *cistae* (pp. 101, 103) ; many valuable votive bronzes from Falterona and elsewhere (p. 104) ; mirrors of bronze and silver (p. 105) ; armour, including the helmet from Olympia (p. 93) ; some beautiful gold jewellery (p. 107) ; painted vases of Greek types (p. 121) ; good examples of black bucchero ware (p. 119) ; excellent collection of money.

NEW YORK : *Metropolitan Museum*.—Bronze chariot from Monteleone di Spoleto (p. 99).

PARIS : *Louvre Museum*.—Terra-cotta tomb-slabs from Caere ; polychrome sarcophagus from Caere ; bronzes ; painted vases.

PARIS : *National Library*.—Painted pottery ; bronzes and money.

APPENDIX IV

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

SELECTED LIST

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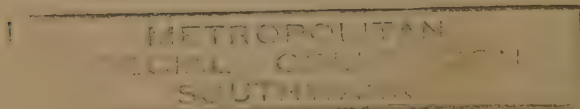
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